ARYA SAMAJ AND THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT

VOLUME ONE : 1875-1918

K.C. YADAV
K.S. ARYA

MANOHAR
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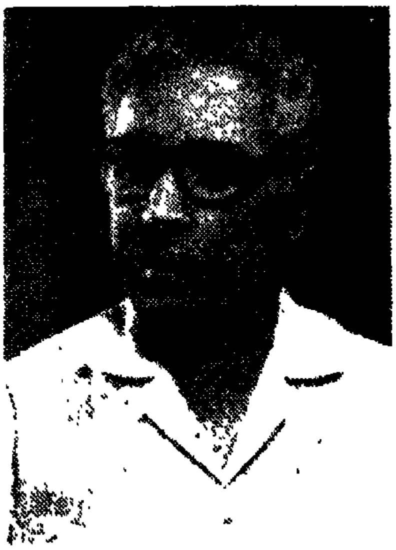

Dedicated to Shri Darbari Lal,
an untiring, enlightened devoted worker
of Arya Samaj and one of the most distinguished
stalwarts and livewire of DAV Movement who by his
hard and selfless work as a dynamic Organising Secretary
of the DAV College Managing Committee, has rendered
extremely meritorious service in the expansion of DAV network

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Preface

> Of all movements in India for the political regeneration of the country none is so potent as the Arya Samaj . . . . The ideal of this society as proclaimed by its founder is an absolutely free and independent form of national government.
>
> *Indian Sociologist*, May 1908

This is what Shyamaji Krishnaverma, the great revolutionary, wrote about the contribution of Arya Samaj to our struggle for political emancipation as early as in 1908. In the years that followed, this contribution became increasingly more important. It is an irony, however, that such an impressive chapter of our freedom struggle has remained virtually unrecorded so far.

It is intended in the present work to study this hitherto neglected subject in its entirety in two volumes : volume I covering the period from 1875 to 1918 and volume II from 1919 to 1947. The study is for the most part based on primary material from archival and other sources. Some secondary material has also been used—but with utmost care, so that no distortion could come in our total picture of things.

In doing this work we have incurred the debt of gratitude of several persons. We are especially grateful to Professor Veda Vyasa, President, D.A.V. College Managing Committee, Delhi for not only initiating us into this work but also for encouraging us at almost every step to complete it. Shri Darbari Lal and Shri B.B. Gakhar were of immense help in supplying some highly useful material, which has gone a long way in filling up many a gap in the text. We are also grateful to Dr. N.K. Jain of Delhi University for useful criticisms of the text and to Swami

Omanandji, Dr. J.S. Yadav, Shri R.R. Bhardwaj, Shri B.K. Muztar and Dr. R.K. Sharma for making valuable suggestions. Our grateful thanks are also due to Shri Ramesh Jain of the Manohar Publications, New Delhi, who spared no pains in bringing out the book in such a short time.

KCY
KSA

15 January 1988

PART ONE

CHAPTER 1

Swami Dayananda: His Political Message and Impact

I

> Among the great company of remarkable figures at the head of the Indian Renaissance one stands out by himself with the peculiar and solitary distinctness, one unique in his type as he is unique in his work. It is as if one were to walk for a long time amid a range of hills rising to a greater or lesser altitude, but all with sweeping contours, green-clad, flattering the eye even in their most bold and striking elevation. But amidst them all, one hill stands apart, piled up in sheer strength, a mass of bare and puissant granite, with verdure on its summit, solitary pine jutting out into the blue, a great cascade of pure vigorous and fertilizing water gushing out from its strength as a very fountain of life and health to the valley. Such is the impression created on my mind by Dayananda.[1]

The above statement of Aurobindo Ghosh might well demonstrate the passionate tone of a poet, but in its spirit and substance it conveys a historical truth. In the galaxy of the great men who rescued India from the clutches of degeneration and despondency in the nineteenth century, Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883) occupies a very important place. Possessed of sharp intellect, rational thinking, and a vision far ahead of his time,[2] he ceaselessly worked for religious reformation,

social reconstruction, cultural regeneration and political emancipation of his country. He 'transfused into her morbid body his own formidable energy, his certainty, his lion's blood',[3] and thus came to share with other great sons of India, the coveted title of the Maker of Modern India.[4]

II

Dayananda was born in 1824 at Tankara, a small town in the princely state of Morvi, Gujarat, in an orthodox Brahmana family. He left his house in 1836, to devote himself to the introspection on life and its ultimate meaning. He became an ascetic and roamed about for a little over fourteen years, visiting one place after the other, seeking the help of literally hundreds of *sadhus* and *yogis* for the solution of his problem. Despite his frantic search the inquisitive ascetic could get no teacher with a critical enough approach to popular religious beliefs to satisfy his exacting standards.[5]

However, In 1846, by a stroke of chance, he found at Mathura a teacher of his choice in an old blind *sanyasi*, Virjananda Saraswati (c. 1779-1868). Possessed of a powerful intellect and prodigious memory, the *sanyasi* was well-versed in the *Vedas* and *Shastras*, and his mastery over Sanskrit grammar was unrivalled.[6] He introduced Dayananda, after his preliminary indepth study of the Sanskrit grammar to the *Vedas* and *Shastras*, which revolutionized his entire thinking. He was no more a pessimistic thinker disinterested in everything except his own well-being now : he was now a true *yogi*, a man of action, with 'God in his soul, vision in his eyes, and power in his hands', and his chief concern was the well-being of his three hundred million countrymen sunk in the densest depths of ignorance, sloth, and inertia.

The year 1869 is very important in Dayananda's life when he went to Kashi, the seat of the Hindu orthodoxy and launched a forceful attack on the monstrous excrescence that had warped both Hinduism and India for thousands of years. Here, on 16 November 1869, was held the historic contest in the presence of about 5,000 people: Dayananda, alone on one side, and three hundred of the most learned and influential pandits of orthodox Hinduism, led by Swami Vishuddhananda, on the

other. Ishwari Prasad Narain Singh, the ruler of Kashi, was in the chair, and the subject for disputation was : whether the *Vedas* permitted idolatry. The orthodoxy proved no match to Dayananda and felt discomfited under the pressure of his sound scholarship and logical strokes. Ultimately, in the words of the *Hindu Patriot*, 'finding it impossible to overcome the great man (Dayananda) by regular discussions, the *pandits* resorted to a sinister course to subserve their plans'. They raised pandemonium and the hired ruffians threw brickbats and stones on the victor.[8]

The hooliganism could not deviate Dayananda from his chosen path. He accelerated the pace of his activities. Moving from one end of the country to another, with incredible quickness, he visited almost every part of India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, and from Calcutta to Bombay. Erect and tall (six foot-four), spare figure topped by a round handsome face, with a long, sharp nose and deep jet-black eyes, he attracted the masses wherever he went. He was a fine orator, possessed of great persuasive power. He could be extremely plausible even while facing a wholly hostile audience and very often those who came to heckle him remained to applaud.

He denounced evils and vulgarities spread by the vested interests in the name of religion, with an almost divine passion. With the *Vedas* in hand, he challenged the Hindu orthodox establishment to justify on their basis polytheism, pantheism, idol worship, casteism, untouchability, infant marriages, forced widowhood, sati, infanticide and a hundred and one other superstitions degenerating Hinduism. Both the vanguard and the reserve of the orthodoxy came forward to silence him. But Dayananda's 'profound scholarship, incisive logic, powerful persuasion and opportune hammerings' brought them to their knees.[11]

Besides the work of social reform, Dayananda also gave serious thought to three other problems faced by his countrymen, namely, illiteracy, economic poverty and political dependence. To eradicate the problem of illiteracy, he envisaged free and compulsory education for all. There should be a state legislation, he said, to the effect that nobody should keep his sons or daughters away from school.[12] Also, the state should

own the responsibility of educating its citizenry without any discrimination between the rich and the poor.[13]

His understanding of the problem of poverty was still sharper. India had never suffered such a calamity before, Dayananda observed. Known as the 'golden chersonese' in the old annals, flowing with milk and honey, this land was, truly speaking, 'the proverbial philosophers' stone, by a mere touch of which the base metals of the foreigners used to turn into gold'.[14] But ignorance and illiteracy,[15] slavery[16] and selfishness, inaction and indolence[17] on the part of its people had turned the land of plenty into the land of abject poverty and suffering. And he believed, that 'this ancient land of the Aryas would go on suffering in the present manner so long as its people did not give up superstitions and backward notions, inaction and laziness'. He also laid stress on going in for science, and technology[18] and *swadeshi* products.[19]

The third problem, i.e. arousing of political consciousness and national awareness among the people was also very formidable. To begin with, he examined the plans of his predecessors in this regard which did not appeal to him at all. The early national leaders, though well-intentioned, had borrowed too heavily from the west. He believed that no nation could build its edifice on a foreign foundation. He, therefore, gave a clarion call to his countrymen to go back to the *Vedas*, and to lay their foundation on them.[20] This was, as rightly pointed out by Aurobindo Ghosh, surely a master glance of practical intuition on Dayananda's part, for in a real sense, the *Vedas* were the original source of religion, culture and civilization of India; they were the foundations of Indian thought, philosophy and knowledge, and they concealed the seed for a radical new birth of the Indian nation.[21]

After providing the foundations, Dayananda took up the task of building up the national edifice—a magnificent skyscraper. But he felt that single-handed he would not be able to accomplish this gigantic task effectively. He, therefore, founded an organisation, the Arya Samaj at Bombay on April 10, 1875.[22] The ranks of the newly founded organization were thrown open by the liberal leader to all and sundry, irrespective of caste, creed and religion, provided they adhered to the following ten principles :

1. Of all true knowledge and whatever is known from knowledge the primary cause is God.
2. God is an embodiment of truth, intelligence and bliss, and one without form, all powerful, just, kind, unborn, infinite, unchangeable, beginningless, incomparable, support of all, all-pervading, omniscient, undeteriorable, immortal, fearless, eternal, holy and creator of the Universe. He alone is worthy of worship.
3. The *Vedas* are the books of all true knowledge. It is the paramount duty of all Aryas to read them, to teach them, to hear them and to preach them.
4. We should be ever ready to accept truth and renounce untruth.
5. Everything should be done according to *dharma*, that is, after considering what is truth and what is untruth.
6. The chief object of the Arya Samaj is to do good to the world, *i.e.* to make physical, spiritual and social improvement.
7. We should treat all with love and justice according to their deserts.
8. We should dispel ignorance and diffuse knowledge.
9. Nobody should remain contented with his personal progress; one should count the progress of all as one's own.
10. Everyone should consider himself as bound in obeying social and all benefiting rules; but everyone is free in matters pertaining to individual well-being.

The Arya Samajas were set up in almost all the provinces of India and Dayananda's inspiring message reached the masses through them. He posed searching questions to his countrymen : Why do you feel inferior to others? What is it that makes you ashamed of calling yourselves Indians? Why have you parted with your national pride and prestige? Why cannot you walk with heads erect and high? 'In the whole world there is no country like India',[23] he thundered. He told them to look at their past which was so great and glorious. He narrated impassioned, though not always scientifically correct, historical episodes to substantiate his statements. 'The Indians were the sole overlords of the whole world. There were their dependent

rulers in other countries.[24] Now Europeans seem to be cultured and educated to you. You praise their cultural achievements. But as a nation they are nowhere as compared to us. Culturally we are far superior a nation'.[25] 'We were sometimes world-teachers', he observed. 'All education that has spread in the world sprang originally from India. Then it went to Egypt, from there to Greece, from Greece to Turkey and then to Europe. From Europe it went to America and other countries'.[26]

He quoted the authorities of the foreigners to convince his people of the correctness of his stand. Jacoiet, a French scholar, he said, had written in his book *The Bible in India* : 'India is the fountain-head of all knowledge and all righteousness. All knowledge and all religions have sprung from here'. He (Jacoiet) prays in the book, said Dayananda, 'O God make my country as advanced in knowledge as India was in olden days.[27] But now misfortune has overshadowed the descendants of the world-teachers and world-rulers and they are down-trodden under the heels of foreigners'.[28]

He made a fervent appeal to his countrymen to take pride in their land, and things made by their own brethren in preference to the ones made in other countries.[29] Dayananda was possibly not the first author of the *swadeshi* Movement in India, as Dr. R.C. Majumdar[30] has pointed out, but he was certainly its first forceful advocate in modern times. He laid great stress on it as a means for the reconstruction of India's economy, as also for its social and political unity.[31] 'Look at the Europeans', he observed, 'they have come into this country for a little more than a hundred years, yet they wear coarse cloth made in their own country. They allow into their offices and courts only English shoes and no Indian shoes. This one point is sufficient in their behaviour to show how patriotic they are—they respect the shoes made in their country more than they respect the men of other countries. These Europeans have not forsaken the ways of their country. These qualities and deeds have contributed to their advancement'.[32]

Although appreciative of their reforming zeal, Dayananda lashed out at the Brahmo Samajists and the Prarthana Samajists for looking towards the west for inspiration and light.[33] 'Do you think', he asked them 'that this attitude of yours will do you and your country good . . .'? There have been in India

many men of learning from Brahma onwards. Not to appreciate them and to go on praising Europeans is nothing short of prejudice and flattery.[34] Commenting on their following the western ideals, he observed : 'When they are born in India, they have eaten and drunk water of this country and are still doing the same, it does not behove them to abandon the path of their ancestors'.[35] He disliked their founding a new religion 'in their pride for English education'.[36] Their reforms seemed to be superficial to him :

> They are working under false notions that they and their country would be regenerated simply by removing the restrictions of food (interdining with persons belonging to different faiths) and caste.[37] They have no remedy for the country that is ailing. Europeans do not care for them and the people of India look upon them as aliens. . . . They have not been able to do good to the country.[38]

He made a forceful plea for political independence of the country. "The '*swarajya*', was always the best thing. A foreign government could not be beneficial even when it was free from religious bias, race prejudice and was just and sympathetic."[39] 'Therefore come out in the open', he exhorted his fellow-countrymen, in the sixth chapter of his *magnum opus*, *Satyartha Prakasha*, 'to form your own government for that was God's dispensation'.[39] In a religious garb, the great statesman-*sanyasi* gave an open message of an all-out revolt against the British Raj :

> Let no man abide by the law laid down by men ignorant of the *Vedas*.[40]

> A man should use all his influence and power to destroy a sovereign who does not happen to be acquainted with the intricacies of the *Vedas*.[41]

> A King should have seven or eight good, righteous, and intelligent ministers born in *swadesh* and *swarajya* who are well conversant with the *Vedas*.[42]

These statements, said Mr Grey, the public prosecutor in the notorious 'Arya Samaj Sedition Case, Patiala, 1910', 'read as political speeches made by Tilak or Bipin Chandra Pal at a meeting or conference, except that they go further than any one dare go in lecturing to the public'.[43]

Surprisingly Dayananda does not stop there. A book like *Satyartha Prakasha*, he knew, though important, was not likely to be read everyday; nor was there a binding on every Arya to read it. In such a case, the above passage would not receive the attention of one and all. The thoughtful ascetic, therefore, devised a foolproof method to reach each Arya everyday with his message of revolt against the British imperialism. He compiled a book of prayers, *Aryabhivinaya*, for use by every Arya everyday in the morning. The book, as the following quotations show, is full of his political message :[44]

> O Effulgent God and Mighty Donor . . . may I acquire gold and other precious metals, diamonds and other valuable stones, imperial sovereign sway, the knowledge of sciences.
>
> O God, Lord of infinite activity . . . fulfil our desires in this life by granting us good faculties of speech, good cattle, good means of conveyance, etc., and the right of political sovereignty.
>
> O Sovereign Ruler of all kings . . . make for us easily accessible imperial sovereign sway, and immense wealth. May our riches and our kingdom ever increase by Thy Grace'.
> O Chastiser of the wicked, living according to Thy commandments, we may by Thy grace, enjoy the benefits of sovereign imperial sway'.
>
> O God, Infinite Fount of Divine erudition, by Thy Grace may we attain true and useful education as the result of our efforts to acquire learning and may be the most learned in the whole world. May we, by our mutual, brotherly love, have great strength and prowess, enjoy sovereign imperial sway without any interference from anything untoward.

O Lord of my life, dear to me as my very life, Father and Protector of my life, Life of my life, Bestower of sovereign imperial sway, Thou art the Lord of my life and my all. I have none but Thee for my succourer. Oh Overlord of kings, just as Thy Kingdom is truthful, just and unassailable, so may our Kingdom also be firmly established in truth by Thy might.

O Most Merciful and Great God, . . . we may live and move happily in Thy great Kingdom, the world—ourselves enjoying, by Thy grace, sovereign imperial sway and the highest bliss in Thee and be ever devoted to Thee.

O Almightly God, . . . Thy children we are, vouchsafe us the highest bliss. Grant us the happiness of sovereign imperial sway as long as we live in this world.

O Supreme Being, Greatest King among all rulers, stimulate us with appropriate courage, fortitude, moral goodness, courtesy, prowess, strength of body and mind and such other virtues that we may be independent and enjoy sovereign imperial sway. May no foreigners come to our country to rule over us, and may we never lose our political independence and become enslaved to foreigners . . . Oh Lord, graciously bestow upon us abundance of riches consisting of good and useful knowledge, diligence and other virtues, elephants, horses, cows and other cattle and animals, gold, silver, and other metals, diamonds and other precious stones, independence in our own country, freedom to visit other countries and efficiency to manage our own country's political administration, men and women of excellence for our offspring, relatives, friends, dependants, servants and neighbours, so that we may never suffer for lack of anything. Oh Master of all, be pleased to provide for our body-politic men and women distinguished with perfect learning and other such virtues, good education, training in the use of war weapons and in the administration of the country, education of a general nature, training in industries, clear intellect and cool head in business, wealth and means of life with perfect diligence to acquire and hoard them for the welfare of the

> general public, sufficient education of a general nature, good health and corporal strength, readiness to do the humblest sort of work for the upkeep of society—readiness to serve others, all infused with the love of their country and prepared to die for it—may there never be lack of such in our society, kingdom, nation, country.
>
> Only by His grace can we expect to have a good life, . . . for a hundred years, devoting our time to useful and righteous pursuits, without demeaning ourselves by the loss of spiritual, moral, economical and political freedom . . . But even if we happen to live for more than a hundred years by His Grace, we should beseech Him to vouchsafe us to live in the same manner, seeing, busying ourselves, hearing, and learning and teaching, in perfect spiritual, moral, economical and political freedom.
>
> May our leaders and guides be learned in the Vedic Lores, our king capable of dealing justice with equity and a wise ruler, our militia composed of brave warriors, may these two act in complete harmony and be favourable to the welfare of the subjects. May we subjects, along with, and under the protection of these two, enjoy excellent prosperity, including the possession of good, useful and high education, and sovereign imperial sway. May our learned leaders and guides by their industrious efforts, bestow upon me and all the people, excellent opulence, characterised by administrative power, mercy, and sound erudition and knowledge to be my permanent possession.

India's political freedom was veritably an obsession with the great *sanyasi*-statesman. While discussing purely religious or social matters, he would somehow or the other bring in the subject of political freedom and even at the cost of seeming irrelevant, would rouse his people 'into active resistance to the alien influence'. For instance, while discussing idol worship, he said :

> We depended upon the idols for the defeat of our enemies and the triumph of our armies and therefore did not exert

> ourselves. The result was that we were defeated and government of the country, independence and wealth with its attendant pleasures, fell to the lot of our enemies. We were robbed of our independence and reduced to the condition of the subject race, suffering in a hundred different ways like the pony of the baker and donkey of the potter.[45]

At another place, condemning the worshippers of Lord Krishna's idols he gave an illustration from 1857:

> When the British bombarded the temple (in Rewa Sadhol) in VS 1914 (1857) where had the images gone? The Baghers, however, showed great bravery in fighting and killing the enemy, but no image could do anything. Had there been somebody like Shri Krishna, he would have discomfited these enemies hip and thigh. Tell me why should his proteges be not beaten whose protector is whipped?[46]

Again, while preaching animal protection, he observed, that ever since the flesh-eating foreigners had come to India and begun to slaughter cows and other animals, the miseries of the Indian, were gradually increasing. Earlier, men and creatures lived happily in India.[47] Even his violent criticism of and attack on different Hindu sects was, in a certain sense, 'politically motivated'. Dayananda knew, says Herbert Risley, that 'the flame of patriotic enthusiasm will not readily arise from the cold grey ashes of philosophic compromise and that before Hinduism can inspire an active sentiment of nationality it will have to undergo a good deal of stiffening and consolidation !'[48]

In short, whether telling his followers about some religious superstition and ritual or social evil and taboo, Dayananda never missed an opportunity to bring home to his followers the truth that 'India was for Indians'.[49]

In the similar vein, Dayananda tried to put a stop to fights and feuds indulged in in the name of different religions. He said :

> I do not approve of the wranglings of the various religions against one another, for they have, by propagating so many false things, misled the people and turned them into one another's enemy. My purpose and aim is to help in putting

> an end to this mutual wrangling, to preach universal truths to bring all men under one religion so that they may, by ceasing to hate each other and firmly loving each other, live in peace and work for their common welfare.[50]

Some people believe that Dayananda's criticism of and attack on other religions had done more harm than good to the national cause by setting in motion communal controversies and disputes. An excerpt from his *Autobiography* settles this problem. Here Dayananda himself has given an explanation as to why he criticised other religions : 'My sole object is to believe in what is true and help others to believe in it. I neither accept the demerits of different faiths, whether Indian or alien, nor reject what is good in them.'[51] A thorough perusal of his other works also confirms this. He attacks what he calls untrue elements in Islam or Christianity in the same way as he does in regard to Hinduism. He shows no leniency to the latter on account of its being his own, or that of his forefathers' religion.[52]

In fact, Dayananda criticized only those elements in different religions which misled the masses and made them fight each other.[53]

Interestingly, Dayananda did not remain content with mere theoretical proposition in this respect. He embarked on practical ventures. For instance, he invited a conference of the representatives of almost all the religions in India on the occasion of the Delhi Durbar, 1877. Keshub Chandra Sen, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Munshi Alakhdhari responded to his invitation. Though the conference led at that time to no practical results, it helped pave the way for the later religious parliaments and conferences working for peace and happiness of mankind.[54]

Thus it is difficult to agree with those of his critics who hold that Dayananda had hatred towards other religions. No doubt he criticized other religions, but that criticism, it must be borne in mind, concentrated on what he thought was untrue (in these religions). In fact, he wanted to bring different faiths under the banner of one universal religion. It was the later vested interests both in other religions and among Dayananda's own followers who actually started religious controversies and dragged Dayananda into them.

In the light of the above discussion it is clear that Dayananda was not only a social and religious reformer but he was also a political leader gifted with great foresight. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the doyen of Indian historians is indeed right when he says in his assessment of the man that he 'was a true statesman who could set the forces at work which will go on influencing the lives and thought of unborn generations'.[55]

This work does not propose to take total stock of Dayananda's impact on the making of modern India. The task proposed to be accomplished in the following chapters is limited to only making an assessment as to the part the followers of Dayananda, inspired by his political and nationalistic message, played in India's freedom struggle.

References

1. Aurobindo Ghosh, *Bankim Tilak Dayananda*, p. 39.
2. *Cf.* the following statement of the great Indian historian Sir Jadhunath Sarkar : "He is a true statesman who can legislate for the future, who can set the forces at work which will go on influencing the lives and thoughts of unborn generations. When the history of India's growth comes to be written that high rank will be adjudged to the naked faquir Dayananda Saraswati", *Dayananda Commemoration Volume*, ed. Harbilas Sarda, p. 42.
3. Romain Rolland, *The Prophets of the New India*, p. 97.
4. See the following statement of Dr. K.M. Munshi : "He (Dayananda) was the first great architect of modern India. His vision was clearer and broader than that of any other nation-maker." *Dayananda* Com. Vol. p. 59.
5. C.H. Heimsath, *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform*, pp. 113-14.
6. For details see Sarab Dayal, *Swanh-i-umrih Shri Swami Virjananda Saraswati*, Lahore, 1902; Devendranath Mukhopadhyaya, *Virjananda Charita*, tr. into Hindi by Ghasiram; Bhimsen Shastri, *Virjananda Prakasha*, Meerut, 1919.
7. Issue of 17 January 1870; also see *Christian Intelligencer*, Benares, March, 1870 (account of Dr. Rudolp Hoernle).
8. *Ibid.*
9. Madame Blavatsky, quoted in Munshi Ram and Ramadeva, *The Arya Samaj and its Detractors, A Vindication*, p. 12.
10. See in this regard the following account of his Calcutta visit as reported in the *Dharmatatva*, Calcutta in its issue of *Chaitra*, 1974 (*VS*) : "Dayananda is a great scholar, well read in Hindu scriptures with the command of Sanskrit. He has a keen intellect, comprehensive in its sweep. His patience is extraordinary. He possesses a

strong power of attracting others. Though he has no contact with western education or science, one is surprised at the comprehensive and liberal way in which he deals with all subjects".

11. For these details see the books listed in his *Autobiography* (hereafter *Autobiography*) ed. K.C. Yadav, third edition (1987).
12. *Satyartha Prakasha* (hereafter *Satyartha*), pp. 65-67; also see pp. 109-29.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Satyartha*, pp. 427-28. Economic historians may, however, not agree with these conclusions of Dayananda.
15. 'It is due to tomfoolery of the ignorant people that they (Indians) have lost independence, comforts, and are now sitting idle with folded hands', *ibid.*, p. 411.
16. 'There can come nothing but poverty and pain when the foreigners rule over the trade in our country', *ibid.*, p. 410.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 411-12, 417, 430.
18. See *Autobiography*, ed. K.C. Yadav.
19. *Satyartha*, p. 592.
20. Aurobindo Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.
21. *Ibid.*
22. For Arya Samaj, its organization, work and history see *Autobiography*. For further reading books are listed at the end.
23. *Satyartha*, chapter XI.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. *The Arya Samaj* : 21 September 1905; also see 'Origin and Character of the *Swadeshi* Movement, Vide NAI, Home Political Proceedings of Government of India, Deposit No. 18, October 1907.
30. *History of Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. I, p. 351.
31. *Satyartha*, Chapter XI, p. 550.
32. *Ibid.*
33. A. De-Reincourt says in this regard that Arya Samaj was the first outstanding revolt of Indian thought against the invasion of Western ideas. *The Soul of India*, p. 234.
34. *Satyartha*, pp. 551-55.
35. Here it seems pertinent to point out that Dayananda was not an obscurantist who abjured anything that was of foreign origin. Nor did he ask his people to refrain from visiting other countries. To quote his own words : "Those people who do not hesitate to go to other countries come in contact with various people, know their customs and manners and thus become powerful. If we accept their (foreigners') good points and leave their bad points, then there is no harm in associating with them'. *Ibid.*, pp. 370-71.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 540-49.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 549.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 552.
39. त्रीणि राजाना विदथे पुरूणि परि विश्वानि भूषथः सदांसि ॥

    ऋ० म० ३ । सू० ३८ । मं० ६ ॥

    ईश्वर उपदेश करता है कि (राजाना) राजा और प्रजा के पुरुष मिल के (विदथे) सुख प्राप्ति और विज्ञानवृद्धिकारक राजा-प्रजा के सम्बन्ध-रूप व्यवहार में (त्रीणि सदांसि) तीन सभा अर्थात् विद्यार्यसभा, धर्मार्यसभा, राजार्यसभा नियत करके (पुरूणि) बहुत प्रकार के (विश्वानि) समग्र प्रजा-सम्बन्धी मनुष्यादि प्राणियों को (परि-भूषथः) सब ओर से विद्या स्वातन्त्र्य धर्म सुशिक्षा और धनादि से अलंकृत करें ।।

    Satyartha, p. 220.
40. जो अविद्यायुक्त मूर्ख, वेदों के न जानने वाले मनुष्य जिस धर्म को कहें, उसको कभी न मानना चाहिये । क्योंकि जो मूर्खों के कहे हुए धर्म के अनुसार चलते हैं, उनके पीछे सैकड़ों प्रकार के पाप लग जाते हैं ।।७।।

    Ibid. p. 228.
41. Quoted in Munshi Ram & Ramadeva, *op. cit.*, part II, p. 10.
42. *Satyartha*, p. 232.

    (राजा) स्वराज्य, स्वदेश में उत्पन्न हुए, वेदादिशास्त्रो के जानने वाले, शूरवीर, जिनों का लक्ष्य अर्थात् विचार निष्फल न हो और कुलीन, और अच्छे प्रकार सुपरीक्षित सात व आठ उत्तम धार्मिक चतुर 'सचिवान'= अर्थात् मन्त्री करे ।।1।।
43. Quoted in Munshi Ram & Ramadeva, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.
44. For details see Dayananda, *Aryabhivinaya* tr. & ed. Bhumananda, pp. 33-34, 122, 143-44, 150, 180-81, 188, 214-15, 238-40, 303-8, 327-29, 393-95.
45. Quoted in B.B. Majumdar, *History of Political Thought from Raja Rammohun Roy to Dayananda*, p. 248.
46. See *Satyartha*, p. 504.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 416-17.
48. *The People of India*, p. 280.
49. Annie Besant, *India : A Nation*, p. 79.
50. *Autobiography*, p. 17.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
54. See *The Cultural Heritage of India*, ed. Haridas Bhattacharya, Vol. IV, p. 635.
55. *Dayananda Com. Volume*, p. 42.

CHAPTER 2

Arya Samaj's Contribution to Political Awakening and National Consciousness

I

The Arya Samaj, as mentioned in Chapter 1, was founded on 10 April 1875 at Bombay with the following rules governing its functioning :

> There shall be in each province a principal Samaj, of which the others shall be branches. The branch Samajas shall be managed on the lines of the principal Samaj.
> Each Samaj shall have a president and a secretary (both men and women). The president shall look after the affairs of the Samaj, and the secretary maintain members' register and take care of correspondence. Those people who are truthful, upright, and have good moral character and good of the world at heart shall be enlisted as members of the Samaj. The president and other members shall practise friendliness and helpfulness towards each other.
> Every eighth* day the president, the secretary, and the members shall gather in the Samaj hall, and they shall give this function precedence over all other work. Decisions of the Samaj shall be made with justice and careful consideration

*This seems to be a printing mistake in the original rules, As amended later, it should have been seventh day.

for the good of one and all. The decisions shall be made known to all the members.

Each member shall contribute to the Samaj fund one-hundredth part of his honest earnings for the running and progress of the Samaj, the schools, and the periodical.

The person who behaves according to these rules, and is religious and virtuous, shall be made a member of the higher order of the Samaj. The rest shall be ordinary members. A wicked person shall be expelled from the Samaj but this shall be done only after due deliberation on the part of the members, not otherwise.

The president and other members shall do their utmost to promote the Arya Samaj, the schools run by it and its periodical, and the Arya Samaj fund.[1]

The Samaj proved to be a popular organization with the people. In a short span of time, about 131 branches were established in the lifetime of Dayananda himself. A state-wise break-up of these Samajas is given in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 : Branches of Arya Samajas established in the lifetime of Dayananda[2]

State	Number of branches
Uttar Pradesh	74
Punjab	35
Rajasthan	8
Madhya Pradesh	5
Bihar	4
Maharashtra	2
Karnataka	1
Bengal	1
Assam	1
Total	131

The great reformer died in 1883 but the work of the Samaj did not stop as usually happens with most of such institutions. His dynamic followers carried his message to the people with great

enthusiasm and force and soon afterwards the number of the Samajas actually increased manifold.

In the changed circumstances, the shortcomings in the organization of the Samaj also became known. In consequence, a modernized, workable organizational apparatus was created for the Samaj in 1886 which was, briefly, as follows :

General

The most striking feature in connection with the Arya Samaj, which makes it at once the most powerful and the most influential of all reform movements in the country, is its complete and unique organization. Every Arya Samaj is a unit in itself. Generally, there is one in every city or village which has come under its influence, but in some cities there are more, either because of the distances separating the different parts of the same city, or of some slight variations in principle. The latter distinction is mostly confined to the Punjab.

Membership

Effective membership involves (*a*) the acceptance of the Ten Principles; (*b*) the payment of one per cent of one's income, either monthly or yearly, towards the revenues of the Samaj; (*c*) attendance at meetings; (*d*) upright conduct.

Weekly Services

The Samaj meets once a week for congregational service, which consists generally of (*a*) Homa; (*b*) singing of hymns; (*c*) prayer and sermon; (*d*) lecture. The service can be conducted by any member, regardless of caste, whom the officers of the Samaj select for the purpose. The Samaj does not ordain ministers or priests. Any layman can officiate at the services or at ceremonies and be asked to lecture. The weekly service meetings are open to the public, and no distinction is made between members and non-members, or between Hindus and non-Hindus. Anybody can come into the Church of God and occupy whatever seat he likes.

Executive Committee

The affairs of each Arya Samaj are controlled by an executive

tive committee comprising elected officers and as many members as may be elected in proportion to the size of the Samaj. Only effective members can vote in the election of officers and the committee. The officers are : (*a*) President; (*b*) one or more Vice-Presidents; (*c*) one or more Secretaries; (*d*) Accountant; (*e*) Librarian. They must be effective members themselves. They are elected for the year at an annual meeting convened for the purpose, where the voting is by ballot. At this annual meeting the outgoing officers and the committee render to the general body an account of the income and expenditure of the Samaj during the year together with a report of the year's working: after which the meeting proceeds to elect officers and committee for the coming year. The outgoing officers and committee are eligible for re-election. In the larger Samajas, the general body of members is divided into groups of ten, for electing representatives on the committee. This is in addition to a few members, not exceeding five, who are elected by the whole body of members. The Samaj may meet for the transaction of such business as may be referred to it by the committee, or by the officers, or on the requisition of a certain number of members, for the consideration of such proposals as they wish to bring under purview by the general body.

Failure to pay the stipulated one per cent of income, or any other misconduct, may lead to suspension of a member by the Samaj, or to the removal of his name altogether from the register of effective members. This is no bar to readmission at the discretion of the committee, from whose decisions in all matters there is, moreover, the right of appeal to the general body. Neither the committee nor the general body is empowered to make changes in the creed, or the constitution, of the Samaj.

Meeting Places

Every Arya Samaj has its meeting place. In the principal cities all over India, it owns palatial buildings, containing lecture halls, committee rooms, etc. In smaller places it hires rooms for meetings. The young men's Arya Samajas generally use the premises of the main body, but occasionally have separate rooms of their own. In some places the

premises are utilized for daily prayers and for club amenities as well. Every Arya Samaj is supposed to arrange for the teaching of Hindi and Sanskrit to such members as are unacquainted with those languages.[3]

Arya Samajas organized on the above lines progressed very well. But this did not satisfy the Aryas. The provincial level organization as provided by Dayananda in the beginning had not yet been established. In conscquence, a voice was raised for creation of provincial level organizations in late eighteen eighties.

After some serious efforts the dream was realized and the provincial apex bodies, called *Prantiya Sabhas* (Provincial Associations) or *Pratinidhi Sabhas* (Representatives' Associations) were formed in different provinces. To run its affairs, each *Sabha* had : 1 president; 1 or more vice-presidents; 1 secretary; 1 or more joint secretaries; 1 treasurer, 1 librarian, and 7 to 21 members of the executive committee who were elected periodically by the elected delegates of all the Samajas in the province (state).

The office bearers and the executive committee conducted the affairs of the Samaj at the provincial level the way the individual Samajas conducted their affairs in their respective villages, towns or cities. The *sabhas* controlled and supervised the affiliating Arya Samajas and gave them directions whenever needed. They took care of the province level problems concerning the Samaj and its members. They organized research activities of the Samaj, appointed preachers and published periodicals/newspapers and literature for popularizing it among the masses. By 1902, *Pratinidhi Sabhas* had been established in most of the provinces (states) as Table 2.2 on page 23 shows.

The tables on page 23 indicate the phenomenal growth in the membership of the Samaj. It grew 131 per cent in the first ten years (from 1891 to 1901). The position improved still further in the succeeding decade when the growth rate reached 163 per cent. In subsequent years even this limit was crossed. Although no figures are given in the census reports after 1931, yet it could be guessed that the Aryas in 1947 were over two million mark. The total number of Samajas all over the country was over 2,000.[4]

Table 2.2 : Arya Pratinidhi Sabhas in 1902[5]

Name of the *Pratinidhi Sabha*	Headquarters	Year of establishment	No. of *Samajas* affiliated to the *Pratinidhi Sabhas*
1. The Punjab Arya Pratinidhi Sabha[6]	Lahore	?	260
2. The United Provinces (UP) Pratinidhi Sabha	Agra	1886	212
3. Rajputana Arya Pratinidhi Sabha	Bharatpur	1888	36
4. Bengal and Bihar Pratinidhi Sabha	Bankipur	1889	45
5. The Central Provinces and Berar Pratinidhi Sabha	Narsinghpur	1889	39
6. Bombay Pratinidhi Sabha	Bombay	1902	35
7. Burma Pratinidhi Sabha	Mandalay	—	—

Table 2.3 : Growth in Membership of the Samaj, 1891—1941[7]

Year	Total Number of members
1891	39,952
1901	92,419
1911	243,000
1921	467,578
1931	990,233
1941	figures not available[8]

As the number of Aryas and their Samajas grew,[9] a demand for a national level organizational apparatus to guide them effectively also began to be felt. There was much discussion and a lot more effort in this direction.[10] As a result, a decision to

the effect that a central body be formed was taken in all seriousness on the occasion of the annual meeting of the Gurukula Kangri on 25 August 1908.[10] In consequance, the *Arya Sarvadeshika Sabha* (International Aryan League) was formed after some time. Its constitution was an elaborate, modern document in which the following objectives were specified for it : [11]

To make arrangements for the propagation and dissemination of *Vedic dharma.*
To bring into effect suitable means for preparing competent preachers of Vedic religion and to establish a missionary college of *Vedic* Theology, if need be.
To bring to a focus the energies and activities of the Provincial *Arya pratinidhi sabhas* all over the world and to control and supervise them.
To keep inviolate the text of the works of *Rishi Dayananda* according to their original manuscript copies and to see that no portion is interpolated in them.
To establish a big central library of religious and cultural books.
To (adjudge) decide the disputes and differences arising inter se between the Provincial *Arya pratinidhi sabhas* and *Arya Samajas* and to establish *nyaya sabhas.*
To organise or promote and encourage research in and about the Vedas, *Vedic dharma*, *Vedic* culture and all its aspects.
To establish *Dharmatrya sabha* for the purpose of adjudicating the matters of religious disputes, controversies and to regulate its working.
To protect the *Vedic dharma* and the *Vedic* culture and to take steps to remove all obstructions and impediments from their paths.
To adopt all other measures for the progress, propagation and protection of the *Vedic dharma.*
To make necessary alterations, additions and modifications in the sub-rules (*upaniyamas*) of the Arya Samaj.
To accept any property as a gift, to transfer it if need be or to purchase or to sell it.
To conduct and manage educational institutions, orphanages, dispensaries, health clinics, shelter homes for women,

boarding houses for students, gymnasiums, establishments for promoting the welfare of the depressed classes and also to undertake other philanthropic works such as providing relief, help and shelter to the destitute people.

The Sabha was constituted (*a*) by representatives elected by the *pratinidhi sabhas*, (*b*) by the *pratishthita members*, and (*c*) by the ex-presidents of the *sarvadeshik sabha*. The number of representatives of the *prantiya pratinidhi sabhas* was five per cent of the representatives of the *Arya Samajas* affiliated with the *sabhas* or fifteen, whichever was less.

As far as organization and functioning of the *Sabhu* was concerned, it worked on the same lines as the *pratinidhi sabhas*.

In sum, the Arya Samaj was a modern organization. Its highest body—the central Aryan league, for instance, did not impose itself on the member *samajas*. Every *pratinidhi sabha* was left autonomous in its own sphere. The *pratinidhi sabhas*, in their turn, gave full autonomy to the city/village Arya Samajas in managing their local affairs. Only when inter-samaj matters came up or some problem of national or international importance was confronted with, did the *Sarvadeshika Sabha* come in.

II

Being a modern organization, the Arya Samaj took to modern mass media for reaching the masses effectively. To begin with, it published a large number of books, pamphlets tracts, posters etc. for the propagation of its principles and ideas. Of these, the works of Dayananda Saraswati, (especially his *magnum opus*, the *Satyartha Prakasha*) were most popular : almost every literate Arya Samajist read it daily.[12] It is pointed out by contemporary British intelligence officers that no other book done in that period contained such rich material for arousing political awakening and national consciousness as the *Satyartha Prakasha*. For substantiation, they reproduced following excerpts from the book :

> The sixth chapter of the *Satyartha Prakasha* deals with the science of government. It is difficult to understand what was Dayananda's object in prescribing the form of government

for the State unless it was for the guidance of the Indians when they secure independence. These directions are chiefly taken from the laws of Manu. The chapter closes with the invocation :

"May we in this world through God's mercy be privileged to occupy kingly and other high offices, and may He make us the means of advancing His eternal justice."

To the extent that it describes the Aryan system of government as a perfect one, the sixth chapter may be regarded as causing disaffection towards the British Government.

There are, moreover, references in this chapter to the necessity that the sovereign and ministers should be learned in the *Vedas*, and "born in *Swadesh* and *Swaraj*", that are difficult of other than literal interpretation.

The eighth chapter contains the following passage :—

"At the present moment, let alone governing foreign countries, the Aryas through indolence, negligence and mutual discord and ill-luck, do not possess a free, independent, uninterrupted and fearless rule even over their own country. Whatsoever rule is left to them, is being crushed under the heel of the foreigner. There are only a few independent states left. When a country falls upon evil days, the natives have to bear untold misery and suffering. Say what you will, the indigenous native rule is by far the best. A foreign Government, perfectly free from religious prejudice, impartial towards all—the natives and the foreigners—kind, beneficent and just to the natives like their parents though it may be, can never render the people perfectly happy."

This extract was particularly quoted by the defence in the case King-Emperor versus Ala Ram, dated 26th November 1902, in the course of which the loyalty of the Arya Samaj was impugned by the defendant Ala Ram, a preacher of the Sanatan Dharma.

Chapter X of the *Satyartha Prakasha* contains two objectionable passages :

(1) The causes of foreign rule in India are mutual feud, differences in religion, ... It is only when brothers fight among themselves that an outsider poses as judge. . . . Mutual feud ruined Kauravas, Pandavas and Yadavas in the past. The same fatal disease is still clinging to us. . . . The Aryas are

still treading the wicked path of the despicably low Duryodhana, the destroyer of his race. . . . May God in His mercy rid us of this dreadful disease.

(2) When the Aryas were in power these most useful animals (cows) were never allowed to be killed. Consequently man and other living beings lived in great peace and happiness. . . . But, since the meat-eating and wine-drinking foreigners —the slayers of kine and other animals—have come into this country, and become the ruling power, the troubles and sufferings of the Aryas have since been on the increase.

Either of these is calculated to excite feelings of disaffection towards the British Government.

Chapter XI contains a passage :—"There have been other mighty rulers who were the sovereign lords of the whole earth such as Sudyumna, Bhuridyumna . . . . What a pity the descendants of these Aryas are being crushed under the heel of the foreigner."

This particular passage was the one which formed the subject of the indictment for seditious speaking against the Arya Samaj preacher Daulat Ram at Jhansi, which resulted in his conviction in 1908 under Section 109, Criminal Procedure code.

The Satyartha Prakasha in abusing the Christians identifies the Government and the Christians, and the following two extracts from the chapter on Christianity are calculated, if not intended, to excite feelings of enmity in Indians towards Government :—

"If a white man kills a black man they generally adjudge him to be not guilty out of their partiality and acquit him of all blame.

It is on this account that the Christians fall upon the property of foreigners as a thirsty creature upon water, a hungry man upon food.[13]

The book contains hundreds of such references.

Like *guru* like disciple : the other works done by Arya Samajists also contained material of political nature. The following example, an excerpt from the life of Mazzini written by Lala Lajpat Rai, should be sufficient to bring home this truth :

> It is unnatural for a nation to remain under another nation.
>
> Foreign yoke is tolerated by a people under very strong compulsion. Nature has desired that every nation should try to promote the welfare of its own land of birth and protect it from foreign attack and tyranny. Looked at from this standpoint, an alien Government, however generous, independent and good it may be, is against the laws of nature and means a condition of slavery for the subject race. If it is evil and against the laws of nature to make a man a slave of another, it is also to make a nation slave, to rule over it against the wishes of it, and it can never be naturally right to do, and if the subject race does not understand this, the reason is that long slavery has killed its sense of respect, and its low spiritedness and narrowness of ideas have made it unable to grasp this grand but simple truth of nature. If the English had not come to India, it would not be surprising if the Hindus had gained possession over all India.
>
> We must remember that unless we show by our deeds and acts that we are seeking to obtain independence we wont get an inch of it, however many efforts we may make. When the Government will come to know that we are not only worthy of being given independence but are in a position that we shall have independence anyhow, then believe there is no earthly power that can keep independence away from us. The second stage is that we should think of the means to achieve independence. One who knows how to be free from slavery, no one can keep him a slave. We have not the same obstacles in our way which the lovers of Italy had to face.[14]

Most of the books, pamphlets, tracts or posters written by Arya Samajists of those times invariably contained some political message, some patriotic observation or some hint of *swadeshi* and *swaraj.*

A large number of journals, periodicals and newspapers were also published for the propagation of the Samaj ideals during this period. Of these, the important ones were the *Arya darpana* (Shahjehanpur); *Bharatasudashapravartaka* (Farrukhabad); *Deshhiteshi* (Ajmer); *Aryavarta* (Bhawanipur—Calcutta); *Arya*

Siddhanta (Prayag); *Paropakari* (Ajmer); *Timirnashaka* (Kashi); *Brahmanahitakari* (Kashi); *Bharatuddhar* (Jagraon—Punjab); *Vedapracharak* (Jagraon—Punjab); *Vaidik Dharma* (Muradabad); *Vedaprakasha* (Meerut); *Bharatuddharaka* (Meerut); *Aryamitra* (Lucknow); *Aryasevaka* (Madhyapradesha); *Saddharmaprachara-ka* (Jullundur); *Navajiwana* (Kashi); *Bhaskara* (Meerut); *Arya* (Lahore); *Aryamaryada* (Jullundur); *Aryamartanda* (Ajmer); *Aryajagata* (Lahore); *Sarvadeshika* (Delhi); *Digvijaya* (Hyderabad); and *Aryabhanu* (Hyderabad).[15]

These periodicals, besides the socio-religious programme, carried political message to the thinking people.

Besides this, the Samajas employed *upadeshakas* (preachers) to carry their message to all nooks and crannies of the country. As these people had served a highly important purpose, a detailed account of them is required. To begin with, the *upadeshakas* were not professionals. The members of the *samajas* who were educated and well-versed in the vedic lore and the programme and principles of their organisation, snatched time out of their routine work and did this job. Some prominent *upadeshakas* of the non-professional type of this period were : Mani Ram, Atmanand, Ishwaranand, Sahajanand, Ramanand (later Shankaranand), Nityanand, Vishwesharanand, Satyanand, Prakashanand, Lakshmidatt Pandey etc.

After 1880s came paid, full time *upadeshakas*. Trained in the art of public communication, they did a lot of useful work day in and day out. Among these *upadeshakas* were Mani Ram (Later Arya Muni), Shiv Shankar, Mehta Jaimani, Yogendrapal, Dhani Ram, Sachidanand Sharma, Tulsi Ram Misri, Devdatt Sharma, Tulsi Ram Svani, Badri Datt Sharma, Shankranand, Amin Chand, Nawal Singh, Kalu Ram, Basti Ram, Tej Singh, Bhishma, Mai Bhagwati, Baldev Singh Verma, Muni Lal Sharma, Prayagdatt Awasthi and Kanwar Sukhlal.

Though full time *upadeshakas* had become available now, yet the Arya activists also spent most of their time sharing their views with the people and influencing them. In this category may be mentioned the names of Gurudatt Vidyarthi, Lajput Rai, Hans Raj, Sain Das, Munshi Ram, Jiwan Das, Durga Prasad, Chamupati, Ramdeva, Parmanand, Lekh Ram, Kirpa Ram (later Darshanananda), Atma Ram Amritsari,

Shivananda, Sarvadanand, Ganpati Sharma and Rambhaj Dutt.[16]

These *upadeshakas*, whether professional or non-professional, brought a great deal of political awareness and national consciousness to the masses. A few excerpts from a U.P. government intelligence report may be pertinent here to substantiate the point.

1. It is recorded by the Punjab police that, when Lala Munshi Ram with Pandit Ram Bhaj Datt of Amritsar was canvassing for subscriptions for the Gurukul at Gujrat, Sialkot and Gujranwala in 1899, he spoke against Government in a very mischievous tone, saying among other things that sepoys were foolish enough to enlist on Rs. 7 or Rs. 8 per mensem to be killed, but after being carefully taught in the Gurukul they would know better. It is also said that Munshi Ram preached in a similar strain in 1903 at Jhang in the Punjab in the same cause.[17]
2. Daulat Ram, an Arya Samaj preacher, was proved to have made attempts to create disaffection among the sepoys at Jhansi, and the Court took the view that an extract from the Satyartha Prakasha, reproduced in the fourth chapter, which Daulat Ram read to an audience including sepoys, was calculated to excite disaffection.
   The Magistrate found the charge proved, and on the 24th September 1908 bound him over for one year under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code. The matter was taken up by the Arya Pratinidhi Sabhas of these provinces and of the Punjab, but the judgement was upheld.[18]
3. 1909 saw Pandit Bhoj Dat visiting Bengal, and his behaviour there caused such apprehension that it was necessary for the Commissioner of Police to issue a notification forbidding him to address any meeting in Calcutta.[19]
4. Pandit Prag Dat of Hardoi, a paid lecturer of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, has been reported as on more than one occasion lecturing at Arya Samaj meetings on political subjects. In May 1908 he commended the example of the Bengalis to his hearers at an Arya Samaj meeting at

Hardoi, and showed that they were getting whatever they wanted by agitation and combination.[20]

5. Pandit Bishan Dat of Mirzapur, a prominent swadeshi propagandist of these provinces has been closely associated with the Arya Samaj since 1902. He spoke at a meeting in Bombay in 1907 on the same platform with Lajpat Rai and Munshi Ram.[21]
6. 1908 saw in Bundelkhand, in Mirzapur and in Gonda districts Lala Lajpat Rai's famine agents at work. These men were received with honour by the Arya Samajas of all the towns they visited, and when in the villages they lost no opportunity of preaching the doctrines of the Arya Samaj. One of these agents disclosed that their real mission was to educate the villagers and to teach them to claim their rights. The amount of relief they gave was comparatively infinitesimal.[22]
7. At a meeting at Agra in 1905 a Punjabi lecturer named Manohar Lal pointed out the necessity for union among Hindus and said it would enable Indians to regain possession of their country. A similar lecture was delivered by one Todi Mal, at a meeting at Alampur in the Dadon circle of the Aligarh district in 1908.[23]
8. During May and June 1907, the political suspects Parmanand (C.I.D. no. P. 4) and Brahmanand (C.I.D. no. B-8) were observed approaching sepoys on leave at Hardwar and preaching in a manner to excite disaffection.[24]

   Although the subjects of discussion at the meetings of the (Bijnor) samaj are usually reported to be confined to religious and social matters, the *swadeshi* movement is sometimes alluded to and politics are occasionally discussed. The Mandawar Samaj is reported to interest itself more with political than with religious affairs.[25]

These are only a few instances reported from U.P. From other provinces similar instances could be had in hundreds.

These *upadeshakas* were, as indicated above, trained in the art of saying things in the most intelligible manner. They were well-versed in the idiom which the people followed. As a result, whatever they said was accepted by their audiences as scriptural

truth. And, as already discussed, they never spared an opportunity to arouse the feelings of the people. They built mountains out of mole hills to arouse their audience. An illustration:

> Lala Ganpat Rai, *upadeshaka*, reports the *Arya Gazettee* in its issue of 11 January 1900, writing from Kachewa Rorh (Rajputana) says that 'owing to the prevailing famine things have come to such a pass here that numbers of human corpses may be seen lying in the fields; men and women are dying from hunger and exposure to cold at night; and beasts of the jungle, dogs. etc, are fattening on the dead bodies of Hindus . . .
>
> Dear reader, just imagine how the dead bodies of Aryas are being desecrated ! Do you know that within a few days their bones will be sold to Ralli Brothers?
>
> O God ! thou art the only Protector of the degenerated Arya nation. Bless us that we may be able to save the Aryan children ! Father, bless us that we may learn some spiritual lesson from this awe-inspiring scene, and rouse ourselves to afford succour to orphans ![26]

III

The above account shows that Aryas employed modern means to spread the message of the Samaj to every part of the country. This message usually had some political content as was the case with the writings of their *guru*, Swami Dayananda Saraswati. And the message was put across to the people in such a way that it straight reached their hearts and produced the desired results. This explains as to why thousands of Aryas joined the national movement under it influence.

References

1. For details, see. J.T.F. Jordens, *Swami Dayananda Saraswati*, pp. 337-40.
2. Vide *Paropakari*, Vol. XXVI, No. 6 (1984), pp. 2-3.
3. Lajpat Rai, *A History of the Arya Samaj*, pp. 156-59.
4. *Ibid*

5. 'Note on the Arya Samaj,' *vide* Home, Political-B, Nos. 53-58, July 1910.
6. This figure probably includes the Arya Samajas in the N.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan, *ibid.*
7. See the *Census Reports* of these years.
8. The practice of recording the number of Arya Samajas was discontinued in 1941.
9. Unlike other places where Arya Samaj worked as a unified force, the Arya Samajists were divided into two groups in Punjab in 1892 over the questions of type of education imparted in the Arya schools and diet. One group stood for more importance to the teaching of sciences, and western learning whereas the other group wanted the Vedic studies to be given the pride of place. As regards diet, the former did not hesitate to go for meat-eating whereas the latter stood for strict vegetarianism. When the apex bodies came, both the sides founded their own bodies separately—the former had their Arya Pradeshik Pratinidhi Sabha with 95 Samajas affiliated with it, and the latter having 126 Samajas. Both had their headquarters located at Lahore.

The leadership was divided as follows :

Place	The Mahatma Party	The College Party
(1)	(2)	(3)
Lahore	Munshi Ram, Gurudatt, Durga Prasad, Rallia Ram, Dev Raj, Paira Ram, Thakur Datt, Atma Ram, Jiwan Das, Kidar Nath, Sita Ram Arya, Jai Chand.	Sain Das, Mul Raj, Hans Raj, Lal Chand, Lajpat Rai, Ishwar Das, Shaukat Ram, Bawa Chhaju Singh, Mehta Radha Kishan, Bawa Teja Singh, Amir Chand, Sukh Dyal, Harnam Das, Ram Sahai.
Peshawar	Sita Ram, Sarjan Lal, Mul Chand Lamba	Bakshi Gokal Chand, Rallia Ram, Gajju Mal
Rawalpindi	Ganga Ram, Vaid Sita Ram, Kirpa Ram Sahani	Hans Raj Sawhney, Hari Ram, Maya Das Sawhney
Gujran Kanh	Rallia Ram	—
Mian Wali	Jawala Sahai	—
Gujranwala	Kewal Krishan, Narain Krishan,	—
Amritsar	Dharam Chand Kaul	Gopal Das Bhandari, Shiv Datt Ram

(1)	(2)	(3)
Jullundur	Munshi Ram, Dev Raj, Ram Kishan, Raizada Bhagat Ram	—
Ludhiana	Umrao Singh	—
Ambala	Gurudilta Mall	Dwarka Das
Multan	Kanshi Ram	Chetan Anand
Abbotabad	—	Chuhar Mal
Jhelum	—	Bhagwan Das, Bodh Raj
Hoshiarpur	—	Murlidhar, Ram Chandra, Thakur Das
Ferozepur	—	Bishan Sahai, Mul Raj, Deen Dayal
Hissar	—	Lakhpat Rai
Multan	—	Chetan Anand

Such splits always harm the organizations. But it was not so with Punjab Arya Samaj. Says Lala Lajpat Rai :

In this civil war the combatants indulged in many unmentionable things; there was recrimination and vilification on both sides and pen and tongue were pressed into service for this. But there is another and brighter aspect also—the zeal and fervour resulted in sacrifices which will ever illuminate the annals of the Samaj. Young or old, rich or poor, each did more than one could be expected to. One month's income or salary had already been taken from all for the College funds. Some were giving a monthly subscription also. And yet a fresh levy was made, and all submitted to it cheerfully. The Mahatma Samajists had to make similar sacrifices for their Veda Prachar Fund, the Kanya Mahavidyalaya, and the local schools. The people began to suspect that the two parties were fighting only to swell their several funds. Lala Sunder Das, eldest son of the late Lala Sain Das, laid down his life in the service of his party; likewise, in the Mahatma camp, a zealous young man, Lala Labhu Ram sacrificed his life for the cause of his party.

For details see, Lajpat Rai, *Autobiographical Writings*, pp. 46-50, 54, 67, 71.

10. *Ibid.*
11. See *The Constitution of the Sarvadeshika Arya Pratinidhi Sabha* (*The International Aryan League*).
12. It is a sort of religious injunction for the Arya Samajists to do *swadhyaya* (self study) of the scriptures and books daily.
13. C.E.W. Sands, *The Arya Samaj in the United Provinces*, pp. 20-22.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

15. See Satyaketu Vidyalankara, *Arya Samaj Ka Itihas*, Vol. V, pp. 434-38.
16. For details see *ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 413-21.
17. Sands, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
26. *Arya Gazette*, 11 January 1900, *vide SNN, Punjab*, 1900, p. 32.

CHAPTER 3

Arya Samaj and the Swadeshi Movement

I

Of all the leaders of the Indian renaissance Dayananda was perhaps the most widely travelled and well-informed man as far as the Indian scene was concerned. From 1845 when he left his home till his death in 1883, he visited almost every part of the country, and saw the contemporary life in all its aspects very minutely. Things were in pretty bad shape almost everywhere owing to the colonial exploitative rule, which had destroyed the *Swadeshi* industries and ruined trade, commerce and agriculture. The country which was once flowing with milk and honey now witnessed severe droughts and devastating famines every now and then as the following Table showed :

Table 3.1 : Famines in Dayananda's time[1]

Year	Famine stricken areas
1860-61	NWP & Oudh, Haryana and some other parts of Punjab
1865-66	Orissa
1868-69	Haryana and Punjab, Bombay, C.P., Rajputana
1873-74	Bengal, Bihar, NWP & Oudh
1874-77	Bombay, Hyderabad
1876-78	NWP & Oudh
1877-78	Madras, Mysore
1883-84	Haryana and Punjab

These famines resulted in untold miseries for the people and carried lakhs of them away. For instance, the famine of 1860 took nearly 5 lakh lives; the 1860 famine carried away 13 lakh; the 1868-69 famine killed about 8.5 lakh in Rajputana, 6 lakh in Haryana and Punjab and 2.5 lakh in Central Provinces. The Bombay famine caused 1 lakh deaths.[2]

India had never suffered such calamities before, Dayananda observed. It was known as the 'golden sparrow' in the old annals.[3] But ignorance and illiteracy,[4] slavery[5] and selfishness, inaction and indolence[6] on the part of its people, have turned the land of plenty into the land of abject 'poverty and suffering'. 'And I believe', he remarked, 'this ancient land of the Aryas will go on suffering in the present manner so long as its people do not give up superstitions and backward notions, inaction and laziness, and do not go in for science, technology,[7] and *swadeshi* products'.[8]

He exhorted his people (Arya Samajists) to change. And it is heartening to note that hundreds and thousands of his people followed him in letter and spirit. They gave up lethargy and backwardness and became active and dynamic. They shunned ignorance and superstitions and developed scientific temper and objective reasoning. They became modern and forward-looking and were fired with love for freedom and liberty.

Obviously, men endowed with such qualities would not continue to remain slaves of a foreign power. Arya Samajists stood for the early undoing of the fetters of foreign domination.

The first weapon that these people took the help of for achieving this goal was *swadeshi*. Before we proceed to explain this interesting phenomenon, however, it would be proper to define the word *swadeshi* as it is used here. *Swadeshi* is a corrupt form of a Sanskrit word *swadeshiya* which means 'of one's own country'. In the post-uprising (1857) period, this word came to be applied to a particular weapon to fight the politically oppressive and economically exploitative regime. It had, broadly speaking, two aspects : (i) economic, and (ii) political. The former consisted in using goods made in India; and the latter in going to indigenous courts (*panchayats* and *rashtriya nyayalayas*), national schools and colleges etc.

The *swadeshi* movement, as far as our present knowledge goes, had its first powerful base in Bengal. In the early 1870's activists like Bholanath Chandra had started exhorting the people there 'to dethrone king cotton of Manchester' and offer 'moral hostility to British goods by resolving to non-consume them'.[9] Hundreds of enlightened people took vows to abjure European things;[10] and the revival of handicraft was talked about very forcefully.[11] Besides this, *swadeshi* institutions, like national banks, navigation services companies, technical schools etc. were also started in this period.[12]

Dayananda visited Bengal about this time. A highly intelligent and inquisitive man as he was, there is every reason to believe that he was influenced by these developments. Hence his emphasis on the use of things *swadeshi* and opening of schools for technical education, etc.[13]

After his demise in 1883 his followers took up his unfinished work in right earnest. The following couplet was almost on every Arya's tongue in those days :

दयानन्द के वीर सैनिक बनेंगे ।
दयानन्द का काम पूरा करेंगे ॥

(We will become Dayananda's soldiers.
We will complete the unfinished work of Dayananda.)

The Arya Samajists took upon themselves the responsibility of finishing Dayananda's unfinished work of *swadeshi*. Their task was relatively easy in the villages, where about 80 per cent people lived in the period under study. The rural folk, as we know, used clothes made by the village julahas (weavers), ate *swadeshi* things, and kept *swadeshi* furniture in their houses. The *panchayats* still served a majority of them in so far as dispensing of justice was concerned. Very few people went to the British courts where justice was costly and mostly delayed beyond tolerable limits. And in a large number of cases even the delayed justice was not available, for in 99 out of 100 cases truth did not prevail.[14]

In the towns and cities, however, the situation was bad, especially among the upper and the middle classes who had by and large opted for the western ways of life. They wore clothes made in England; they ate foreign food; and had foreign furniture in their houses. They had no respect for indigenous courts

or schools. They considered British rule to be a blessing for them. They could not think of anything like *swarajya*.[15]

The Arya Samaj took serious stock of the situation and worked hard to effect improvement in the *swadeshi* programme. An illustration to bring this truth home may not be out of place. An Arya Samaj was established at Lahore in 1877. Its members took a vow to use *swadeshi* things. They 'subscribed a few hundred rupees and ordered cloth made in Bombay and kept it in Arya Samaj Mandir for sale. The consignment was sold in a few days as the demand for *swadeshi* goods had increased'.[16] Almost similar things happened at other towns and cities in the initial days.

Arya Samaj activists and itinerant *upadeshakas* preached the message of *swadeshi* in most effective terms. What was the content of the speeches of these people? How far was their reach? These and other similar questions would be best answered, we guess, by some excerpts from the speeches of Babu Murlidhar (1848-1922), the great Arya Samajist activist of Ambala who along with 73 other compatriots founded the Indian National Congress at Bombay on 28 December 1885.[17] Speaking from the podium of the Nagpur Congress in 1891, he said: "The British government was capable of giving us only wretchedness, degradation, famine, pestilence and crime and nothing else. Have no doubt, therefore, that any good could come out of this union of India and Britain". Then he turned to his fellow delegates and scolded them too for not adhering to the cult of *swadeshi*. He held them guilty of collaborating with the "accursed monsters fattening on the heart's blood of your brethren". There were voices of "no, no" from the delegates. Raising his voice, Murlidhar silenced them by his impassioned, forceful words :

> I say, yes. Look round, what are all these chandeliers and lamps, and European made chairs and tables, and smart clothes and hats, and English coats and bonnets and frocks, and silver mounted canes and all the luxurious fittings of your houses, but trophies of India's misery, mementos of India's starvation? Every rupee you have spent on European-made articles is a rupee of which you have robbed

your poorer brethren, honest handicraftsmen who can no longer earn a living?[18]

He again lashed out at his fellow-delegates to the Madras session of the Congress (1891) who were wearing foreign clothes. Speaking on the poverty of India, he taunted them :

Does all this really represent the poverty of India? With all the delegates in their gala dresses, dressed in European style and having every article of clothing, can you possibly think that it lies in their mouths to say that their country is poor?"

Then he posed a very serious question in an admonishing tone :

You cry that India is poor. Have you done your share of the work; have you contributed anything towards reducing the poverty of the country; have you established any manufactories; have you discarded European clothing; have you shown to the world that you are really feeling and working for the poor? If you go to their houses and partake of their wretched food and live as they do, shivering with cold at midnight in those miserable huts; with naked bodies; then you will feel the pinching poverty; then you will really feel the suffering of the people. Until you place yourselves in the position of the poverty-stricken people you will not be able to say that India is your mother-land, that the people are poor, and that you advocate their cause. Do advocate their cause sincerely. Pledge yourselves to squat rather on the bare ground than to send for chairs from Austria, three thousand miles away, which cost you Rs. 5,000. Act as practical patriots and show by your life that you truly and sincerely feel for the poor; then, the sympathy of all the poor . . . shall be yours, and your names shall be placed in history, and God will be immensely pleased with you for having done your work.[19]

Though himself a practising lawyer, Murlidhar was a strong critic of the British courts. He was a principal advocate of *panchayats*, and national courts and exhorted his people in a

most forceful manner to go to them for justice. Speaking on the subject from the podium of the Indian National Congress in 1891, he observed:

> Then there is the costly, utterly unsuitable foreign system (this too is imported, like so many of our other blessings) of civil and criminal, mis-called, justice. I say our so-called courts of justice are, too, generally dens of injustice, litigation is fostered and fomented by this system. (A Voice: "But you are a pleader yourself"). (Laughter) Yes, I am a pleader, and hence thoroughly know what I am speaking about. (Cheers), Litigation, I say, is the necessary result of this unsuitable and alien system of judicature, which has ruined large sections of the community morally and materially. Millions, who would otherwise have remained honest and truthful men, are now rogues and professional liars. In old days there was no tax on justice. You did not always get it, but when you did, it was free. Now, I think you never get it, except by accident, and those foolish enough to go to courts to seek it, even if they go with full pockets, return to pay . . . nothing of bribes, that are now the order of the day.[20]

Murlidhar was only one among a host of other Arya Samaj activists who propagated the creed of *swadeshi* in Punjab and Haryana. These were: Lajpat Rai, Hans Raj, Jaisi Ram, Munshi Ram, Mul Raj, Gurudatt Vidyarthi, Lal Chand, Gokal Chand, Sain Das, Bhagat Ishar Das, Durga Prasad, Parmanand, Piara Ram, Atma Ram, Roshan Lal, Rallia Ram, Dev Raj, Hans Raj Sawhney, Rambhaj Dutt, Sarla Devi Chaudharani, Shaukat Rai, Chhaju Singh, Mehta Radha Krishan, Teja Singh, Amir Chand, Sukh Dayal, Harnam Das, Ram Sahai, Tola Ram, Kidar Nath, Sita Ram Arya, Jai Chand, Jiwan Das, Sarjan, Ganga Ram, Vaid Sita Ram, Kirpa Ram Sawhney, Jawala Sahai, Ram Rattan, Kewal Krishan, Narain Singh, Dharam Chand Kaul, Ghasita Ram, Devi Chand, Tahal Ram (of D.G. Khan), Rishi Ram, Raizada Bhagat Ram, Ram Kishan, Umrao Singh, Guruditta Mal, Kanshi Ram, Rallia Ram (Peshawar), Gajju Mal, Bakshi Gokal Chand, Hari Ram Sethi, Maya Das Sawhney, Chuhar Lal, Harbhagwan Das, Master Bodh Raj,

Gopal Das Bhandari, Ram Chander, Bishan Sahai, Dindayal and Chetan Anand in Punjab; and Chandu Lal, Piru Singh, Matu Ram, Harinath Mukherji, Churamani, Phul Chand, Purani Devi, Lakhpat Rai, and Dwarka Das in Haryana.[21]

In 1894, an institutionalized approach was made to the problem. Mul Raj and his friends like Jaisi Ram, Lajpat Rai etc. formed at Lahore an organization called the *Swadeshi Vastu Pracharini Sabha* (Society for the propagation of swadeshi goods) with following aims and objectives:

(*a*) to increase the demand for Indian articles by using them.
(*b*) to spread knowledge of the advantage of using Indian articles; to find methods of improving them, and promoting their sale by means of lectures, newspaper articles, pamphlets etc.
(*c*) to establish a library at Lahore which would contain literature and detailed information on manufacturers of Indian articles, a show-room for exhibition of Indian articles, and for the collection of information on handicrafts, places from which they can be had, etc.
(*d*) to encourage the introduction of machinery and other facilities in the country for improvement of handicrafts, and the manufacture of articles.[22]

Any person who agreed to sign and act upon the following pledge could become a member of this *sabha*:

> I do hereby solemnly promise that I will do my best to wear cloth manufactured in India and will try also to use as far as possible as well as to induce others to do the same.[23]

Although it is not known as to how many persons actually joined the *sabha*, a safe guess is that it had its following in almost all the big towns and cities in Punjab and at some places in U.P. and Bombay.[24]

What work did the *sabha* do? Nothing can explain the position better than the following quote from the writings of its founder:

> By delivering lectures from time to time, the *Swadeshi Vastu Pracharini Sabha* has been rousing people to the necessity of using articles made in India. To create a demand for them by making up our mind to use them. If the Government cannot protect the rising industries of the country by taxing imported goods, it believes in the free trade, the people can surely protect them by purchasing the articles manufactured in our country and thus patronising them.[25]

The *sabha* had its contact with its counterparts elsewhere. It exchanged views with them on matters of mutual interest. Some time in 1894, it received a telegram from Bombay informing that some people were 'forming associations to boycott English cloth there'. The *sabha* appreciated the move and said:

> This is as it should be. It is high time that we should take some such measures to protect our infant industries, especially when we see clearly that the Government is guided in its legislation by the anxiety to please Manchester. Under these circumstances, the only possible course which we can adopt is to take a solemn pledge before man and God to use Indian articles alone and unless we do something of the kind, our cotton industry is doomed to perish. We, therefore, appeal to our countrymen to be up and doing, for Heaven helps those who help themselves.[26]

In February 1896, the *sabha* started a bilingual paper *Swadeshi Vastu Pracharaka* in English and Hindi. Its publisher and editor was Swami Shankarnath who was none else but Mul Raj himself. Being in government service he could not have done this work under his own name. Hence the pseudonym-Swami Shankarnath. The paper did quite useful work by exposing the frauds of free trade and the current system of education. Among other things, it encouraged new education based on technical and industrial know-how.[27]

The paper continued for three years but it ceased to come out after 15 September 1898. Swami Shankarnath lamented on its demise:

> There were very few paying subscribers to the *Swadeshi Pracharaka*. Some of the gentlemen to whom the paper was sent free of charge, used to return the paper back as they said that they did not approve of what was written in it.[28]

Unfortunately, such papers face similar problem even today. Not many people come forward to subscribe to them. In the 1890s things were still worse. Then the middle classes for whom the paper was obviously meant comprised for the most part the pro-government elements. They did not like the paper's anti-government stance. They supported free trade and other similar things.

After some time the society also became defunct. This was owing to the death of the leading light behind the whole show—Bakshi Jaisi Ram in 1900.

By this time Lala Lajpat Rai had shifted from Hissar to Lahore. A great advocate of the *swadeshi*, he filled up the vacuum caused by the demise of *swadeshi vastu pracharani sabha* by establishing another organization called the *Punjabi Swadeshi Association*. Lalaji himself was its president and his friends in the Arya Samaj were its active members. This Association did more useful work than Lala Mul Raj's society, as we shall see later.

The *Swadeshi* movement reached its climax from 1905 through 1910. Curzon had partitioned Bengal in 1905 and the people of Bengal in particular and of the rest of the country in general reacted to this anti-national move of that great imperialist by resorting to *swadeshi*. In consequence, the movement became very intense, comprehensive and meaningful during this period. Foreign goods were boycotted; *swadeshi* shops were opened; and people by and large went in for *swadeshi* things. The partition was annulled in 1911.

The Association and the individual activists moved earth and heaven to take *swadeshi* to every corner of Punjab (including Haryana). Some of their activities which were considered dangerous by the government and were, therefore, taken note of by them, are reported below:

Lala Lajpat Rai's activities

After returning from England in 1905, Lajpat Rai held a

secret meeting at his house on 3 December 1905. Twenty specially selected Arya Samaji leaders were present in the meeting. The meeting decided to establish a secret office in the interest of the Arya Samaj and *swadeshi* movement.[29]

In December 1905, Lajpat Rai delivered a series of lectures in order to promote the *swadeshi* movement in the Punjab at different places. He told the people that 'we should not leave off the work of *swadeshi* we have begun. Young men, your blood is hot. The tree of the nation calls for blood. It (the *swadeshi* movement) is watered with blood'.[30]

In September 1906, he again made a forceful and impassioned plea for the use of *swadeshi* goods at the Punjab Provincial conference held at Ambala (29-30 September 1906).[31]

On 27 March 1907 he delivered a lecture on the same subject at Allahabad. He advised people to boycott British courts and establish *swadeshi panchayats* for getting justice.[32]

In his presidential address to the all India Swadeshi Conference at Surat in 1907, he exhorted people to make the *swadeshi* movement a success.[33]

On 29 November 1907, he addressed the students of the D.A.V. College, Lahore, on this subject. "So long as you go", he said, "to other doors to beg, so long as you cannot stand on your own legs, you cannot succeed."[34]

On 18 January 1908, he delivered a very thoughtful lecture on the subject at Kanpur. He said: "There were three kinds of *swadeshi*, political, social and economic, and for our national salvation it was necessary to go for all the three with zeal and vigour. The Indian Government which was under the influence of the European traders and merchants, was ruining the country."[35]

Swadeshi meetings

A women's meeting was held in the Arya Samaj Putri Pathashala, Rawalpindi in October 1905 in which the audience took a vow not to use muslin imported from other countries. They would use cloth made in India in its place, they decided.[36]

A historic meeting was held at Lahore on 17 October 1905 which resulted in the formation of the *Punjab Swadeshi Association*. As already noted, Lala Lajpat Rai was chosen its president.

The chief objective of the association was to make the swadeshi movement a grand success by

(*a*) taking pledge to go in for *swadeshi*,
(*b*) opening stores and show rooms for *swadeshi* goods;
(*c*) collecting and supplying information about *swadeshi* products, arranging for lectures, publishing papers, distributing literature, and adopting such other means as may be found necessary for making the *swadeshi* ventures a succcess; and
(*d*) introducing machines, particularly those worked by hands.[37]

A *swadeshi* meeting was held at Ambala on 21 October 1905 at Hindu Hall under the presidency of Murlidhar. Beni Prasad and Dwarka Das were the chief speakers who exhorted the people to use *swadeshi* things.[38]

A *swadeshi* meeting was held at Lahore on 22 October 1905. Ruchi Ram Sawhney presided over it. About 8,000 people attended this meeting. The speakers, especially Gokul Chand Narang, made a passionate appeal to the people to make *swadeshi* a success.[39]

A meeting of the Punjab Swadeshi Association took place at Lahore on 7 October 1906. Lala Lajpat Rai was its chairman and Sudhir Chandra Bannerji, 'the worthy lieutenant of our great leader, Babu Surendernath Bannerji', was the chief speaker. He made a moving speech in which, to begin with, he outlined the purpose of his visit to Punjab; "You have given us that book of noble thought; you have given us our sacred *munis* and *rishis* and heroes . . . . You have given us Swami Dayananda Saraswati . . . . I have come to seek your cooperation now (in *swadeshi* movement)". He explained the meaning of *swadeshi* in very lucid terms: it was a commercial, agricultural, educational, political, even social and religious movement. Make it a success or perish, he observed, for our freedom, our liberty, our very existence depended upon its success.[40]

A meeting was held some time in July 1907 at Gurdaspur by the efforts of Bishan Das, Dutta Ram, *Shahukaras* of

Gobindpur and Karam Chand, retired district judge and other Aryas, at which it was decided that the use of English sugar and China vessels should be absolutely prohibited. 'Further, at their instance, Thakur Hari Kishan Singh, hony. magistrate and proprietor of village Kishankot, directed all the shopkeepers living in his village to discontinue the sale of English sugar'. As a result, 'no foreign sugar is procurable in that and the neighbouring village'.[41]

At a meeting held at Behrampur in September 1907, Ram Dutt, head master of the local Arya School asked his people to unite, forgetting their religious and other differences and advocated a general boycott of British goods.[42]

Arya Magazines/Journals

The *Arya Gazette* in its issue of 11 January 1900 published at the instance of one Lala Ganpat Rai, an Arya Samaj *upadeshaka*, a hard hitting piece showing how the dead men's bones were used in things made by foreigners. Owing to the prevailing famine (in Rajasthan), said the *upadeshaka*,

> things have come to such a pass here that a number of human corpses may be seen lying in the fields . . . beasts of the jungles, dogs etc are fattening on the dead bodies . . . Dear readers, just imagine how the dead bodies of Aryas are being desecrated: Do you know that within a few days their bones will be sold to Rallis Brothers?

The *Satdharma Pracharaka* in its issue of 15 September 1905 said very forcefully that the country could benefit only by adopting *swadeshi*.[43]

In the *Arya Gazette*, dated 21 September 1905, one Nanak Chand of the D.A.V. College, Lahore wrote an interesting article on the uses of *swadeshi*. The *swadeshi*, he said, was the key to the political freedom of the country.[44]

The Panjabee in its issue of 11 September 1905 made a forceful plea for the use of *swadeshi* goods in preference to foreign goods. In case some goods of Indian make were not available, then we should go for things made in some other Asian country. If that is also not there, then we could go for goods made in

France, Germany and the USA. Never go in for anything made in Britain.[45]

On 25 September 1905, the same paper observed that *swadeshi* was the panacea for all ills. It (*swadeshi*) "would become a supreme regenerator of our dead and drooping industries in a short time; the same gospel would be a powerful constitutional weapon in the hands of the people to make the rulers of the land concede to their just political demand .... In *swadeshi* lies their terrestrial salvation."[46]

The *Arya Messenger* exhorted 'the people to be independent of our masters.... We can, for example, use the cloth made in our own country'.[47]

The *Arya Messenger* again wrote a forceful article in support of *swadeshi* in its issue dated 12 December 1905.[48]

The Panjabee wrote an editorial on the subject on 23 October 1905. It said, among other things, that 'like the doctrine of free trade in England before Mr. Chamberlain threw his protection bombshell into the unionist camp, the doctrine of *swadeshi* is being accepted as beneficial and even necessary by thoughtful persons of almost all shades of opinion in India.'[49]

The paper again wrote forcefully on 6 June 1906 against the foreign sugar which had driven the indigenous stuff from the market. Some people believed, it said, that the foreign sugar was refined with the bones of different animals.[50]

On 7 August 1907 it told people 'to go for boycott of foreign goods as there could be no *swadeshi* without boycott'.[51]

The *Hindustan* in its issue of 14 February 1908 noted that *swarajya* was like soul to a body. Nobody could exist without soul. To gain *swarajya*, it advised, we should open national institutions, promote *swadeshi panchayats*.[52]

The Arya *swadeshites* did not limit their propaganda to the use of *swadeshi* goods only; they encouraged their countrymen to do a lot more. To have custody of and final say in the investment of their money, they thought of starting national banks. As a result, the Punjab National Bank was formed at Lahore in 1894. Some other banks came soon after. Two years later, another national concern, the Bharat Insurance Company was started at Lahore. This was followed by the opening of several other national commercial concerns, and starting of industries etc. at a number of places in Punjab.[53]

Like Punjab, U.P. was also an important centre of the *swadeshi movement* during the period under study. The prominent Aryas who carried out this 'noble work' in the Land of the Ganga and Yamuna were Munshi Ram, Ramdeva, Kashinath Shastri, Bal Krishna, Sita Ram, Satvalekar, Ghansyam Singh, all of Gurukula Kangri; Swami Darshananda, Munshi Amar Singh, Bhagwandeen, Bhagirath Lal, Hira Lal Verma, Sita Ram, Mutsaddi Lal, Hira Lal Gupta, Jyoti Sarup, Kashinath (Bara Banki), Parmanand, Nandkishore, Pragdatt, Roshan Lal, Tulsi Ram, Chatursen, Harnam Singh (of *Kanpur Gazette*), Devdatt, Sheo Sahai, Baldev Prasad, Jamna Prasad, Mangla Dev, Purnand, Bishandatt, Hanuman Prasad, Basant Lal, Shanti Swarup, Gaitri Devi, Ram Sarup, Ch. Khub Chand, Niranjan Dev, Dharmpal (alias Abdul Gafur, a convert to the Samaj), Balanand, Vishnudatt, Madan Mohan Shukla, Ramprasad, Jagannath Prasad, Gauri Shankar, Swami Tulsi Ram, Madan Mohan Seth, Awadh Bihari Lal, Murari Lal Sharma, Suroj Prasad (Kanpur), Sunderlal Kayastha, Daulat Ram (of Jhansi fame), Shadi Ram, Sita Ram, M.A., Ghasi Ram, Nihal Singh, Balanand, Kanjimal, Basant Lal, Roshan Lal, Parmanand, Shyamsundar Lal and Brahmanand.[54]

These propagandists exhorted the people to wear *swadeshi* clothes, to eat *swadeshi* things, and to use *swadeshi* furniture etc. in their houses. They asked the traders to do trading in things *swadeshi*. They appealed to the rich and wealthy to establish *swadeshi* industries. They carried propaganda through books, tracts, posters, papers, meetings, conferences, *melas* and exhibitions in favour of *swadeshi*.

As in Punjab, thanks to the efforts of the activists mentioned above, the movement gained momentum in U.P. during the 1905-10 period. Mr. C.E.W. Sands, Director of Intelligence, U.P., has given a district-wise account of the important events relating to the *swadeshi* movement in his famous report on Arya Samaj:

District Saharanpur

In 1905 it was reported that one Ganga Ram, Brahman, lecturing at Gangoh, introduced the subject of *swadeshi* and boycott into his address. When inveighing against the use of

foreign trade articles, he assured his audience that the use of European-made sugar and other articles of food had induced plague in India, and on another occasion he attributed the same result to the slaughter of cows.

The *swadeshi* movement was also in evidence in Roorkee in the same year, in the course of lectures given by Hira Lal, Mutsaddi Lal and Shankar Lal of the Thomason College. In 1906 also an address on the *swadeshi* movement was reported as having been delivered by a student of the Roorkee College.[55]

District Meerut

In connection with the Arya Samaj at Mowana in 1908, it was reported that attempts were made to undermine the Government school and to induce the students to join an Arya Samaj school that had been started there. One of the school masters of the town school was concerned with *swadeshi* and was dismissed. The District Magistrate stated at the time that he had noted other instances of a similar nature in other parts of the district.[56]

District Aligarh

. . . On several occasions the *swadeshi* movement has been referred to in lectures by Arya Samajists.[57]

District Lucknow

The most prominent member of the Lucknow Samaj is Babu Banarsi Lal Kayasth (C.I.D. No. B—6), at one time president of the Wazirganj Sabha. He takes particular interest in social and political matters, he is a keen supporter of the *swadeshi* movement and of the Congress, and he frequently lectures on these subjects. Other members of note are Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma, editor of the "Advocate" (Lucknow); Babu Raj Bahadur, Babu Jagannath Prasad, and Pandit Beni Prasad, a lecturer. A large number of the members are for *swadeshi*.[58]

District Kanpur

The *swadeshi* movement is very strong in Cawnpore and

occasionally political subjects are touched on in the course of discussions at Arya meetings.

In June 1909 a branch (of Arya Samaj) was also started in Bindiki. It was reported that the tone of the Bindki samaj was not good, and that the object was political rather than religious, particular attention being paid to the extension of the *swadeshi* movement.[59]

District Badaun

In June 1907 at a meeting held at Bisauli (Badaun) mention was made of the *swadeshi* movement. The same movement has gained ground rapidly in Bisauli circle, and particularly at Mundia, where many Banias live. The movement against foreign sugar is said to be particularly strong in this circle, and to have been fostered by the Arya Samaj.

A good deal of activity appears to have been exhibited in connection with the Gurukul at Budaun from 1906 onwards. At an annual meeting held in February 1907 the visit of a number of outside preachers was reported, and it was noticed that particular reference was made by them to the *swadeshi* movement. The boycott of English sugar and cloth was advised and English education was condemned as expensive and useless.[60]

District Jaunpur

With the exception of the interest taken in *swadeshi* movement, the members of the Arya Samaj in this district are not reported to concern themselves with political matters.[61]

District Sitapur

. . . Some of the members are said to be interested in political and the *swadeshi* movement.[62]

District Hardoi

Ram Prasad, Public Works Department overseer at Hardoi, and a prominent member of that Samaj, constantly referred to the *swadeshi* movement in the course of his speeches at meetings.[63]

In Bihar the position of Arya Samaj was not as strong as it was in Punjab and U.P., yet the following Arya activists did their best to make the *swadeshi* movement a success there: Madho Lal, Brahmananda, Onkar Sachidananda, Munishwarananda, Lakshmipati, Ram Chandra, Gaurang Prasad, Kartika Dev, Lakshman Prasad, Yugalkishore Prasad, Balkrishan Sahai, Mithila Saran Singh, Ram Krishan Sahai, Hargovind Gupta, and Ishwarananda.[64]

In Bengal, C.P., Bombay Rajasthan, the movement was weak. The Arya *upadeshakas* from Punjab, Haryana and U.P. went to these provinces[65] to effect some improvement in the situation but they did not seem to have achieved any notable success.

The *swadeshi* movement made a powerful onslaught on the governmental superstructure from different directions—economic, political and social. It paved the way for the attainment of freedom by enlarging the social base of the movement.

II

National Education

Opening of institutions imparting national education was an immensely important aspect of the *swadeshi* movement. During his extensive tours of the country Dayananda saw his people in a pitiable condition. They were ignorant and illiterate as Table 3.2 (p. 53) shows.

Dayanand a knew full well that the filtration theory of education, which the government was practising at that time, would not solve this acute problem in any way. He, therefore, advocated a different scheme—a scheme which envisaged free and compulsory education for all. "There should be a state legislation," he observed, "to the effect that nobody should keep his sons and daughters away from school after the fifth or at the most eighth year of age. The parents not abiding by this order should be punished by the state."[67]

Dayananda gave details of the curriculum of studies to be followed in national schools in his *magnum opus*, *Satyartha Prakasha* and other works, as also in the letters that he wrote to those of his followers who were running schools in those days. He laid great emphasis on acquiring mastery over Sanskrit through the study of Panini's *Ashtadhyayi*, Patanjali's

Table 3.2 : Extent of Illiteracy in India in 1880s[66]

Province or State	Males		Females	
	Illiterate	Literate	Illiterate	Literate
	(per one thousand)		(per one thousand)	
Ajmer	892	73	992	8
Assam	924	76	997	3
Bengal	892	108	996	4
Berar	916	84	998	2
Bombay	860	140	990	10
Sindh	915	85	995	5
Central Provinces	941	59	998	2
Coorg	844	156	986	14
Madras	851	149	990	10
N.W. Provinces	937	63	997	3
Oudh	942	58	998	2
Punjab	926	74	997	3
Hyderabad	928	72	997	3
Baroda	856	144	995	5
Mysore	895	105	993	7
Bombay States	887	113	995	5
Bengal States	945	55	998	2
N.W.P. States	965	35	999	1
Punjab States	941	59	999	1
Total for whole of India	891	109	994	6

Mahabhashya, *Nirukta*, *Chhandas-Shastra* (a treatise on prosody or rules governing the structure of poetry), followed by a study of such works as *Manusmriti* (Swamiji's favourite *Dharmashastra*), Valmiki's *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and *Viduraniti*.[68] Then two years would be spent in mastering the six systems of philosophy, the *Mimansa*, *Vaisheshika*, *Nyaya*, *Yoga*, *Sankhya* and *Vedanta*. Thereafter came the study of the *Vedas*, the *Rig*, *Sama*, *Yajur* and *Atharva* along with their four *Brahmanas* (commentaries on *Vedas*), namely *Aitareya*, *Shatapatha*, *Gopatha* and *Sama*.

After this, the student was required to study the four *Upavedas*, namely the *Ayurveda* (medical science) *Dhanurveda* (military science) *Gandharvaveda* (science of music and other fine arts) and *Arthaveda* or *Shilpavidya* (science of mechanics, machines or technology), followed by a study of Algebra,

Geometry, Arithmetic, Geography, Geology, Space sciences and *Jyotisha* (astronomy only)—not astrology, which Swamiji had dismissed as a misleading superstition.[69]

It is argued by some scholars that Dayananda envisaged an archaic, orthodox system of education, under which pupils studied only ancient Sanskrit texts and grammar and so became misfits for the present world. This is far from being the truth. Swamiji wanted his people to be capable of handling their affairs well. He wanted them to know as many languages as was possible. For instance, he wrote to one Nirbha Ram who was running a school at Farrukhabad that 'out of six hours given there, three were for Sanskrit, two for English, and one for Urdu and Persian'.[70] To one Madho Lal who wanted to open a Sanskrit School, he advised: "Arrangements be also made for teaching various sciences at the school."[71] Writing to Mul Raj he went a step further: "I am of the opinion that we must send some men to Germany for learning crafts and sciences. But of course, if this education can be had here in our own country, then we may not send them to Germany."[72]

In Dayananda's scheme of education emphasis was put on *tapasya* (austerity) not indulgence, on service, not personal aggrandisement and exploitation, on simplicity, not luxury or show of affluence and on duty, not on selfish pleasure or enjoyment by harming the interest of the society. It sought to uphold lofty principles and noble values. It inculcated patriotism and love of one's country, and care for the entire world.

Dayananda opened several schools in his lifetime to impart education on the above lines. But owing to paucity of money, time, and good managers, these could not succeed. His followers, however, made good all these deficiencies and ran first rate institutions of national importance.

D.A.V. Institutions

November 8, 1883, is one of the most memorable dates in the history of modern India. It was on this day that some 'enlightened sons of Punjab' assembled at Lahore to raise a suitable memorial to their great leader, the late, lamented Swami Dayananda Saraswati. A great deal of thinking had gone into the matter. Many nice things had been thought of. Eventually, a consensus emerged: they all agreed to establish a

Dayananda Anglo-Vedic (D.A.V.) College in the memory of the great reformer.

The venture was exceedingly difficult. There were many academic, financial and administrative problems. But, to use a cliche, 'where there is a will there is a way': strenuous, sincere efforts on the part of the Arya activists, like Lala Lal Chand (1852-1912), Pt. Gurudatt Vidyarthi (1864-1890), Lala Jiwan Dass, Lala Sain Dass, Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928), Lala Hans Raj (1860-1938) and Lala Ralla Ram bore fruits. All the difficulties were got over one by one.

They took up the academic problem first. What sort of education should be given in the new institutions? Should it be on the western lines? Or on the lines suggested by the so-called orientalists? What should be the curriculum? What should be the medium of instruction? These and several other such questions had to be answered before the institution came into being as a true memorial to the great ascetic. In consequence, a draft scheme was circulated for public discussion in 1885 which among other things addressed the following points for the consideration of the enlightened sons and daughters of the Punjab in particular and India in general:

> No doubt, speaking broadly, the primary aim of education is to develop the mental faculties to invigorate them, and to practise them by proper and healthy exercise. As it is impracticable that every member of a nation should receive thorough education, it is peremptorily necessary, and absolutely desirable, that those who do receive education at the national cost, should receive it in a manner best suited to make them useful members of the community. In fact, the system of education should be so devised as to strengthen the ties which naturally bind individuals into a common nationality.
>
> The rush of foreign ideas, by the introduction of English literature into this country, has had, no doubt, the effect of enlightening and improving many thousand minds, of a few of whom the country may well feel proud. But foreign education has produced a schism in society which is truly deplorable. An educated class has been created—a class which moves by itself; a class incapable of materially

influencing, or being influenced by, the uneducated masses; and a class without precedent in any country on earth. This result, sad in itself, is the inevitable consequence of the one-sided policy of education imparted through a foreign agency.

But the mistake is not past remedy; there is still ample time to set matters right, did we but know how to use our opportunities. The reaction towards a national education is asserting itself everywhere, and the demand for the study of the national language and literature, and carefully to initiate the youthful mind into habits and modes of life consistent with the national spirit and character.

Besides, no means exist at present in this country for imparting technical and practical education, which is so essential to its economic and material progress.

Influenced by these important considerations we propose to establish an educational institution which will supply the shortcomings of the existing systems, and combine their advantages. The primary object will, therefore, be to weld together the educated and uneducated classes by encouraging the study of the national language and vernaculars; to spread a knowledge of moral and spiritual truths by insisting on the study of classical Sanskrit; to assist the formation of sound and energetic habits by a regulated mode of living; to encourage sound acquaintance with English literature; and to afford a stimulus to the material progress of the country by spreading a knowledge of the physical and applied sciences.[73]

The response to the draft scheme was not very encouraging but it was quite thoughtful. The authorities of the proposed college formulated the following objectives of the college on the basis of the recommendations of the enlightened public:

(1) To establish in the Punjab an Anglo-Vedic College Institution, which shall include a school, a college, and boarding-house, as a memorial in honour of Swami Dayanand a Saraswati, with the following joint purposes, viz. :

(*a*) to encourage, improve, and enforce the study of Hindu literature,

(*b*) to encourage and enforce the study of classical Sanskrit and of the Vedas,

(*c*) to encourage and enforce the study of English literature and sciences, both theoretical and applied.

(2) to provide means for giving technical education in connection with the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College Institution as far as it is not inconsistent with the proper accomplishment of the first object.[74]

The problem of management was also taken up simultaneously. Fortunately, there was no dearth of able men for this purpose among the Aryas then. As such, it took no time to form a managing committee, comprising, to begin with, the following:[75]

Lal Chand, M.A.	:	President and Treasurer
Ishwar Das, M.A.	:	Vice-President
Jwala Sahai	:	Vice-President
Madan Singh, M.A.	:	Auditor[76]

At the end of December 1886, the following were added to the committee to conduct its affairs effectively :

Jiwan Das	:	Offg. Secretary
Gurudatt, M.A.	:	Asstt. Secretary
Ganga Ram	:	Offg. Accountant

Besides these office bearers, the Society had ten members of the Executive Committee :

Kashi Ram (Multan), Kesho Das, Jashi Ram (Ferozepur), Narain Das, Gopal Das Bhandari, Lajpat Rai, Maya Das, Daya Ram, Mul Raj, and Dwarka Das.

The D.A.V. Trust and Managing Society was duly got registered under the Societies Registration Act XXI of 1860.

The first meeting of the registered society was held on 27 February 1886.

The academic-management problems resolved, the problem relating to finances was tackled. Happily, not only Aryas, but others too came forward to help the society in their 'laudable national venture'. In the very first meeting held at Lahore for this purpose Rs. 7000 to 8000 were collected. Interestingly, Muslims and Sikhs made liberal contributions to the funds.[77]

The set target was reached on time. And on 1 June the lofty aim was realized: the D.A.V. school was opened at Lahore amid great fanfare and rejoicing.

These efforts and sacrifices, says Lala Lajpat Rai, might have ended in nothing but for the timely offer of a young man—Lala Hans Raj.[78] A fresh graduate from the Panjab University, this young man offered to serve the institution as a teacher free of remuneration. He was made the honorary head master. An equally dedicated band of youngmen came forward to serve as teachers.

How did the people take to the new institution? It was immensely liked by them. In fact, they had been seriously feeling the need of something like this for quite some time past. In the very first week as many as 300 students were admitted to the school; by the year end the number shot up to 505 in high classes, 165 in the middle class, and 285 in the primary classes.[79]

The new experiment was a big success. But it did not satisfy the organizers. Their dream of the college had not yet materialized. Fortunately for them, however, this state did not continue for long. The enthusiastic Arya public gave support to the activists to such an extent that they were able to formally announce the opening of the Intermediate classes on 1 June 1888.[80] The admissions were made soon after.[81] The college was upgraded still further in 1894 when the B.A. Classes were added to it. The M.A. class in Sanskrit was opened in 1895; Vocational engineering classes were added in 1897; and an Ayurvedic class was started in 1899. The college had its own imposing building and impressive boarding house.

The college had three faculties:

(*i*) Languages faculty comprising Sanskrit, Hindi, English, Urdu, Persian etc.
(*ii*) Arts & Humanities having History, Political Science, Economy, Philosophy (Eastern and Modern), Logic etc.
(*iii*) Sciences dealing with elementary Physics, Chemistry, elementary Botany, elementary Biology and higher Mathematics.[82]

Lala Hans Raj, that 'bony frame clad in coarse *Khadi* . . . with a heavy turban and drooping eyes, visible through thick glasses', was the Principal.[83] He was helped by a band of dedicated youngmen like Sain Das, M.A., B.Sc. (Cantab); Dewan Chand, M.A.; Ram Rattan, B.A., B.T.; Mehar Chand, M.A.; Gokal Chand, M.A.; Bhai Parmanand, M.A.; Balmukand, M.A.; etc. who gave the best in their lives to the institution. It was due to the efforts of these great teachers that the results of the D.A.V. college were always the best in the University.[84]

And this excellent education was imparted at a low cost, at far less cost than what other colleges of its standard charged at Lahore as the following Table shows:

Table 3.3 : Tuition Fee charged by various colleges in Lahore, 1897-98[85]

College	Hindus	Muslims	Sikhs	Christians	Other	Total Fee in Rs.	Fee per student in Rs.
Govt. College	149	60	26	0	0	19342	81.88
Forman Christian College	114	69	13	27	2	13970	62.09
D.A.V. College	377	2	36	0	0	13650	32.89

In spite of these low fees, the managers of the college chose not to seek monetary assistance from the government.[86]

It is interesting to ask why did they do so? Lala Lajpat Rai explaining the self-denial says, the object of starting this college

> was primarily to try an experiment in purely indigenous enterprise: secondly, to develop a spirit of self-help and self-reliance in a community in which those qualities had, by lapse of time and lack of opportunity, degenerated.
> No bureaucracy loves people who can do big things without their help and guidance; much less a foreign bureaucracy. They wish to keep the strings of all public activities in their own hands, or in the hands of those who can be used as tools. We set a different standard, and so we were disliked. The authorities have never been at ease with us. Once or twice when we sought their help to acquire land for a building site and play-grounds, they would not oblige. Lately they have compulsorily requisitioned a piece of land, which we had secured with great trouble and after protracted litigation, and refused to give us in lieu one of the Government plots lying under our own walls.[87]

Despite this, however, the college grew from strength to strength-so much so that in 1914 one of its founding fathers could well say with a certain sense of pride and fulfilment:

> The feeble seedling planted in 1886 by even more feeble hands, in the course of time, grew into a stately tree, and was in 1914 the biggest institution in Northern India, and probably the second in the whole of India, in point of numbers.[88]

The Lahore school and college became very popular with the people. Naturally, demands for opening such institutions in their respective towns and cities came from people in different parts of the province. As a result, a chain of D.A.V. institutions had come up throughout the province by 1918 where our study ends.

Despite their great success, it must be conceded, however, that the functioning of the D.A.V. institution was not to the liking of one and all in the Arya Samaj. Especially Mahatma Munshi Ram (later Swami Shraddhananda) and his men did not like it at all for "it did not come up to their ideal of Vedic education"; that the managers cared more for University results than for sound national education; that the fact of its affiliation with the official University prevented them from making radical

changes in the curriculum of studies, and materially interfered with their independence.

For a time they carried on an agitation aiming at radical changes in the Institution, but finding that the majority of those entrusted with the arrangement were determined not to make such changes, they resolved to secede and go their own way.[89] And thus occurred a split in the Arya Samaj. Mahatma Munshi Ram and his men walked out of the D.A.V. Trust and Management and formed a separate party. They came to be known as 'Gurukula-wallahs', for, as we shall see later, they formed institutions of their choice called *gurukulas*. This was in the year 1893-94. Those who remained in the control of the D.A.V. Trust and Management were called the 'College wallahs'.

The Gurukulas

After the split, Mahatma Munshi Ram and his men, proposed to open a *gurukula* in November 1898. In consequence, steps were taken to collect a sum of Rs. 30,000, for commencing the work. Munshi Ram took upon himself the duty of collecting this sum of money. His was a difficult task. Rs. 30,000 was a very huge sum in those days. In the second place, our people were not yet accustomed to making donations for such causes then but Munshi Ram's hard work and sincerity of purpose were rewarded: he accoumplished the seemingly impossible task in no time.[90]

After the money came, the *Arya Pratinidhi Sabha*, Punjab started a *gurukula*, as desired by Munshi Ram, at Kangri, a small village in close proximity of Hardwar (U.P.) in 1901. It sprawled across 900 acres, with a natural grandeur, healthy environment, and a salubrious climate. Munshi Ram describes its lofty aimes thus:

> The Gurukula is founded with the avowed aim of reviving the ancient institution of Brahmacharya (continence), of rejuvenating and resuscitating ancient Indian philosophy and literature, conducting researches into the antiquities of India, of building up a Hindu literature incorporating into itself all that is best and assimilable in Occidental thought, of producing preachers of the Vedic religion and good citizens possessed of a culture compounded of the loftiest

elements of the two civilizations which have made their ancient land of sages and seers.[91]

The *gurukula* was a boys seminary where anyone who fulfilled the following conditions could take admission, no matter whether he was a Hindu or Sikh, a Christian or a Muslim:

(*i*) His *Vedarambha sanskara* (initiation ceremony) should have been performed according to 'Vedic rites;
(*ii*) He should be neither less than six nor more than eight years at the time of admission;
(*iii*) He must be physically and mentally sound;
(*iv*) The parents or guardians should give a guarantee that they would neither marry nor betroth the boy till he was at least 25 years of age; and
(*v*) The parents should sign a form of agreement binding themselves not to withdraw the boy from the *gurukula* till the completion of his course and to pay Rs. 10 per mensem to defray his maintenance charges regularly.[92]

Once admitted, a student had to accept a strict code of conduct which was as follows:

> Students were not allowed to visit a town or a village except under special circumstances, such as serious illness or death of heir parents, guardian or some other near relative or serious illness of himself. They were permitted to correspond with their parents/guardians not oftener than once a month. All letters were received and sent through the governor. None but the parent/guardian or near relative was allowed to visit anyone and that, too, only once in a month. Such meetings could take place under the directions of the governor and the Visitors could stay ordinarily for not more than two days.
> The students going out of the campus even for a walk or for some other purpose were invariably accompanied by a teacher or superintendent.[93]

All the students, whether they were sons of wealthy or poor parents, were treated equally in matters of food, clothing, lodging or studies. In fact, health, comfort and constitution of

the students were taken into consideration in providing special clothes, bedding and furniture, etc. Books, writing materials and other apparatuses needed for purposes of education were supplied at the expense of the Pratinidhi Sabha. No tuition fee was charged from the students: education was absolutely free. C.F. Andrews, commenting on this aspect, offers tributes to Mahatma Munshi Ram thus:

> It goes to the credit of Munshi Ram that long before Gokhale introduced the Elementary Education Bill in the Viceregal Council, he matured his plans for giving free education to the sons of the soil, irrespective of birth, colour, caste or creed.[94]

The *gurukula* establishment was divided into two branches: the school branch and the college branch. There were ten classes in the school branch, and the course of instruction extended over a period of ten years there. The department had thirteen teachers including the head-master. Here knowledge of higher Sanskrit, scriptures and elementary sciences, Mathematics and arts and humanities and English of the matric level was imparted. The medium of instruction was *Hindi.*

The college branch comprised four classes where advanced Sanskrit works including the Vedas, English literature up to the B.A. standard, and an alternative course in Science, History, Economics, Eastern or Western Philosophy, and ethics up to the M.A. standard were taught. The students were examined every year as was done in other colleges; and if they passed there in all the four yearly examinations, they were awarded the bachelor's degree (*Vidyalankara*). After that postgraduate studies consisting of research work in the subject of one's choice were taken. Those who qualified were given the *acharya's* degree. The medium of instruction was Hindi even at this high stage. The last year at the *gurukula* was spent in travelling all over the country.[95]

The daily routine of the students at the *Gurukula* was very interesting as the following contemporary account indicates:

> At 4 a.m. senior and at 4.30, junior *Brahmacharis* and members of the supervising staff rise in response to the tintinnabulations of the Ashram bell, fold up their beddings and

> proceed to the Ganges where they jump into the water and enjoy a good morning bath. Most of the students and Superintendents know swimming and swimming competitions are accordingly entered into with great zest and eager enjoyment. When the winter is severe they go to the bathroom which was erected at a cost of over two thousand rupees donated by certain philanthropic ladies and gentlemen. Before bathing all the *Brahmacharis* take physical exercise and undergo drill under the direction of the Superintendents. Between 5.30 and 6 they commence their daily yajnas viz., (1) Sandhya—Prayer and Meditation (2) Agnihotra. After this they are given fresh milk and from 6.15 a.m. to 10.30 a.m. regular classes are held when the morning meal is served consisting of liberal supply of bread, pulse and vegetables and fruits. Rice-pudding and Halwa are served occasionally. The diet is strictly vegetarian. Till 2.45 boys take rest though the senior students utilise the interval in reading the books from the library. Again the teaching-work goes on till 5.15 p.m. The boys then engage themselves in playing games. After dinner the boys proceed to their dormitories and revise their lesson. At 9 p.m., all the students go to bed. The college students are required to maintain diaries and record their daily work.[96]

The business of the *gurukula* was conducted by a Board of Control consisting of a president, a vice-president, a secretary, a treasurer and 14 other members including three professors of the *gurukula*. But as far as the internal management was concerned, the members of the faculty had full freedom to do their work in whatever way they liked.

The teachers at the *gurukula* were well-known for their academic excellence and patriotic feelings. Many of them had pledged their life to the institution. They drew only subsistence allowance by way of salary. These dedicated souls were: Munshi Ram, governor and president; Kashinath Shastri (of Banaras fame), professor of Sanskrit Literature and Philosophy; Ramadeva, B.A., M.R.A.S., senior professor of English Literature; Balakrishna, M.A., professor of History and Economics; Tulsi Ram, M.A., R.A.S., professor of Western Philosophy; V.G. Sathe, M.A., professor of Chemistry; M.C. Sinha, B.A.,

M.Sc. (U.S.A.), professor of Botany and junior professor of English; Lakshman Das, B.A., professor of Mathematics; and Govardhan Das, B.A., head-master, school department.[97]

The teachers worked day and night to shape the human material entrusted to their care into ideal sons of mother India. How successful they were in this regard can well be seen from the following excerpts from the report of a senior intelligence officer of the United Provinces (modern Uttar Pradesh):

1. The scheme of studies at the *gurukul* does not include any history other than Indian History until the tenth class, and specifications are made in prescribing stories from medieval Indian History for the fourth and fifth classes that they are "calculated to stimulate patriotic and righteous feelings."
2. The isolation of the *brahmachari* from the world is by no means complete, as the *gurukul* boasts of a good library, and receives all magazines and high class periodicals published in India. The perusal by the *brahmacharis* of such insidious and objectionable publications as the *Modern Review* cannot but induce feelings of disaffection in them. Even those newspapers and periodicals of the present day that are conducted by men known as moderate leaders have as a rule little but misrepresentation and destructive criticism for all the actions of Government, and the Brahmachari cannot fail to be imbued with the same spirit.
3. The *gurukul* has also a debating club in which the discussion of political subjects is not apparently prohibited. Such an institution, without anyone to correct misapprehensions or intentional misstatements made in course of debates, is bound to exercise an influence for bad.
4. The *gurukul* management lay great stress on the constant and wholesome influence of the superintendents and teachers over the chela. In the Quinquennial Report for 1902-1907 on the Kangri *gurukul*, Lala Munshi Ram remarked that "given desirable teachers wonderful results can be produced". Among certain qualities which he enumerated that could be impressed by example as well as by precept was "burning love for country". One of

> the advantages which he claimed for the *brahmacharis* of the *gurukul* was this that "*he possessed much more general information, which had the additional advantage of being sound and desirable*". The italics were in the original report. Even supposing that the management be genuinely anxious to prevent the students from cultivating strong anti-British feelings, they must be handicapped by their want of control, owing to most of the staff being honorary workers. Mr. Offorde, the District Magistrate of Bijnor, who visited the *gurukul* in April 1909, was not favourably impressed with the staff. With reference to one of the most important members, Mr. Ramdeo, who also edits the Vedic Magazine, he remarked as follows: "He is full of wind and has an undesirable influence in the place. A Bengali with atrocious manners, nothing he says comes from his heart. His influence over the older men is nil, but he must be doing harm there all the same". Nothing is definitely known to the discredit of any member of the staff, except that one Satwalekar, who held for some time the post of drawing master, and painted a picture of Dayanand for the *gurukul*, was implicated in the Kolhapur bomb conspiracy case. A warrant was issued for his arrest in 1908 and he absconded to avoid its execution. He was eventually arrested at Kangri and sent to Kolhapur, where he was acquitted of the charge against him.
>
> There is little doubt that, intentionally or unintentionally the *gurukul* is training a band of political sanyasis, whose mission will be a menace to the Welfare of the State.[98]

Besides the *gurukula* at Kangri, a number of *gurukulas* were established in different parts of the country during the period under study. Of these the *gurukulas* at Sikandrabad (later shifted to Farrukhabad in 1907), Badaun, Jwalapur, and Biralsti in the Muzaffarnangar district (U.P.) were prominent. In the Punjab there were *gurukulas* at Multan, Firozepur and Gujranwala; in Delhi at Narela, and in Haryana at Kurukshetra, Bhainswal, Matindu, and Jhajjar. All these *gurukulas* were run on the Kangri lines and served the same purpose, namely, to

build first rate citizens imbued with immense patriotic fervour and national zeal.[99]

The Total Picture

Besides the D.A.V. institutions and the *gurukulas* the local Arya Samajas opened several educational institutions in their respective areas during the period under study. The total picture as it obtained then was as follows:

Table 3.4 : Educational Institutions managed by Arya Samaj[100]

Sl. No.	Types of Institutions	Numbers
1.	Arts Colleges (Boys)	8
2.	Arts Colleges (Girls)	2
3.	Training Colleges	1
4.	Colleges of Divinity	3
5.	Ayurvedic Colleges	2
6.	High Schools (Boys)	73
7.	High Schools (Girls)	1
8.	Middle Schools (Boys)	70
9.	Middle Schools (Girls)	52
10.	Sanskrit Schools	8
11.	Primary Schools (Boys)	144
12.	Primary Schools (Girls)	111
13.	Hindu Schools (Boys)	80
14.	Gurukulas	14
15.	Night Schools	12
16.	Depressed Classes Schools	55
17.	Mixed Schools (Boys & Girls)	9
18.	Orphanages	10
19.	Industrial Schools	3
20.	Widow Houses	2

In these institutions (total 505), 54,886 students received education at very nominal rates of tuition fees. These institutions were not located in Punjab or Uttar Pradesh only where the Samaj was the strongest but were spread throughout India as Table 3.5 would show:

Table 3.5 : Province-wise distribution of the Educational Institutions managed by the Arya Samaj[101]

Name of the province	Number of Institutions	Number of Students	Number of Teachers	Annual expenditure Rs. Annas P.	Cost of building Rs. Annas P.
Punjab	288	35654	1567	1033142-8	4434083-7-11
United Provinces	116	7891	449	365422-13-8	1564055-4-0
N.W.F. Province	20	3310	143	84515-3-4	427000-0-0
Delhi	11	2037	118	148925-13-6	331500-0-0
Bombay	9	1429	72	95311-4-9	44500-0-0
Baluchistan	2	813	30	22471-7-9	70000-0-0
Malabar	5	549	19	2795-15-4	3100-0-0
Bengal	3	445	22	14923-0-0	15000-0-0
Burma	7	370	16	12338-2-5	16800-0-0
Bihar and Orissa	6	128	10	5757-0-0	?
Central Provinces	2	30	1	?	?
Native States	36	2230	123	98839-9-6	553200-0-0

In these educational institutions, besides their academic curriculum, the students were given lessons in patriotism, *swadeshi* and service to their fellow countrymen. The importance of such virtues as *swarajya*, self-help, dignity of labour, and individual and national self-respect (*swabhimana and rashtrabhimana*) was explained to them. As a result, there emerged a large number of youngmen with patriotic fervour and national zeal from the portals of these institutions.

III

The above account shows that the *swadeshi* movement was at its peak in Punjab and elsewhere where the hold of Arya Samaj was strong during the period under study. It had struck its roots in the fertile soil in 1870s through the efforts of Swami Dayananda Saraswati, one of the greatest champions of *swadeshi* in modern times. His disciples followed him in right

earnest and working hard took the programme of *swadeshi* to every part of India. As a result, a powerful movement came about which helped in loosening the fetters of servitude.

References

1. William Digby, *Prosperous British India: A Revelation*, p. 126.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Satyartha*, pp. 427-28. Economic-historians may, however, not agree with these conclusions of Dayananda.
4. "It is due to tomfoolery of the ignorant people that they (Indians) have lost independence, comforts, wealth, and are now sitting idle with folded hands". *Ibid.*, p. 411.
5. "There can come nothing but poverty and pain when the foreigners rule over and trade in our country". *Ibid.*, p. 410.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 411-12, 417, 430.
7. See Appendix to chapter III, *Autobiography of Dayananda Saraswati*, ed. K.C. Yadav.
8. "Look at these Europeans, they have great respect for everything made in England. They allow any person to go into their courts, shops, etc. with shoes on if made in their country but not if made in this country (after Indian fashion)". Why can't we do so? *Satyartha*, p. 592.
9. For details see Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, 1903-1908*, pp. 92-148.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. For detailed discussion see K.C. Yadav (ed.) *Autobiography of Dayananda Saraswati*, pp. 1-21, 80-90.
14. Based on information kindly supplied by Swami Omanandji, President, *Paropakarini Sabha*, Ajmer.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Mulraj, *Beginning of Punjabi Nationalism: Autobiography of Mulraj*, p. 106.
17. For details about him see K.C. Yadav, *The Builders of Our Nation, Vol. I: Murlidhar*, Kurukshetra: 1987.
18. *Report of the Seventh Session of the Indian National Congress, Nagpur, 1891*, pp. 20-22.
19. *Ibid.*, 1894, pp. 45-46.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-22.
21. The account is based on the files of the Home Dept., Political, Government of India; Intelligence reports from Punjab; and information given by Swami Omanandji.

22. Mulraj, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
29. See Ganda Singh (ed.), *History of Freedom Movement in Punjab*, Vol. V, p. 60.
30. *Paisa Akbar*, 13 December 1905; *Wafadar*, 28 January 1906, vide *ibid.*, p. 59.
31. K.C. Yadav, *Freedom Struggle in Haryana* (mss) (Source-material) Vol. I, p. 47.
32. Home Political, A, Nos. 148-235, August 1907.
33. *Ibid.*, Deposit, No. 7, November 1908.
34. *Ibid.*, Nos. 19-26, January 1908.
35. *Ibid.*, B. Nos. 105-12, February 1908.
36. *Punjabee*, 16 October 1905.
37. *Ibid.*, 23 October 1905.
38. *Ibid.*, 30 October 1905.
39. *Ibid.*, 23 October 1905.
40. For details see *The Tribune*, 11 October 1906.
41. Home Political, B, Nos. 135-45, August 1907.
42. *Ibid.*, Nos. 80-87, October 1907.
43. *Satdharma Pracharaka*, 15 September 1905.
44. *Arya Gazette*, 21 September 1905.
45. *The Punjabee*, 11 September 1905.
46. *Ibid.*, 25 September 1905.
47. *Arya Messenger*, 7 April 1905.
48. *Ibid.*, 12 December 1905.
49. *The Punjabee*, 23 October 1905.
50. *The Punjabee*, 6 June 1906.
51. *Ibid.*, 7 August 1907.
52. *Hindustan*, 14 February 1908.
53. For details see Mul Raj, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-101.
54. The account is based on the files of the Home Dept., Political, Government of India; and intelligence reports from U.P., especially of Mr. Sands, *op. cit.*
55. Sands, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
56. *Ibid*,, pp. 66-67.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-25.
60. *Ibid.*, 110-11.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
64. The account is based on the intelligence reports of these provinces.
65. For instance, the intelligence records show that two Arya preachers, Birendranath Brahmachari and Anand Swami visited the Bombay presidency in July 1907 for preaching *swadeshi* (vide Home Political, B. Nos. 135-45, August 1907). Sundar Lal, an emissary of Lala Lajpat Rai visited Calcutta in August 1909 and delivered lectures there on *swadeshi* (vide *ibid.*, Nos. 110-17, October 1909).
66. See *The Census of India, General Report*, 1891, p. 217.
67. For details see *Satyartha* pp. 65-67, 109-29.
68. Sans interpolations in all cases.
69. The account is based on the third chapter of this *magnum opus, Satyartha.*
70. Dayananda to Nirbha Ram, Ajmer, 23 May 1881, vide *Autobiography*, p. 70.
71. Dayananda to Madholal, Kashi, 21 Nov. 1871, vide *ibid.*, p. 66.
72. Dayanada to Mulraj, Meerut, 10 August 1880, *ibid.* p. 67.
73. For details see Lajpat Rai, *History of Arya Samaj*, pp. 136-37.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
75. Formed on 20 March 1886, this is the first managing committee of the D.A.V. College.
76. He was appointed in the next meeting of the society on 27 November 1886.
77. *The Tribune*, 10 June 1886.
78. Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
79. *Ibid.*
80. Vide Resolution No. 111, dated 28 April 1881. The affiliation was granted by the Panjab University on 18 May 1889.
81. To begin with 13 students came forward and joined the college but by the year end their number went up to 38.
82. Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
83. The Khalsa College and the Islamia College had European Principals who were paid from the government treasury.
84. Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
85. C.B. Webster, *The Christian Community and Change in the Nineteenth Century North India*, p. 157.
86. Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-42.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
89. Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
90. For details see *The Indian Review*, August 1913, pp. 642-49.
91. Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
92. *The Indian Review*, August 1913, pp. 642-49.
93. *Ibid.*
94. *Ibid.*

95. *Ibid.*
96. *Ibid.*
97. *Ibid.*
98. Sands, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-35.
99. For details see Satyaketu Vidyalanakra, *Arya Samaj ka Itihas*, Vol. III.
100. Devi Chand, *Educational Work of the Arya Samaj*, p. 1.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

CHAPTER 4

British Government's Hostility Towards Arya Samaj and Punjab Disturbances

I

Arya Samaj became suspect in the eyes of the British government soon after it was formed in 1875. But it took almost a decade for the confirmation of its belief that the Samaj 'was really dangerous'. According to some Arya Samajists the following reasons accounted for this state of affairs:

(i) The Arya Samaj is a new movement, seeking to disturb the old order of things in matters social and religious. Every such movement is bound to have bitter opponents who will make all sorts of allegations against it to those in power in order to discredit it.

(ii) The Samaj is a fearless critic of what it regards as sham and superstitious wherever found. This has roused the opposition of a number of influential persons and social organisations. The social parasites to whom the superstitions of the people were a source of large incomes and princely luxuries find the ground cut from under their feet, and want to put in a brave fight before they fall. Among other things, the weapons of offence in this fight take the form of false libels against the Samaj secretly uttered to some Government officers.

(iii) The tame Hindu was submitting to every insult offered to his religion for generations, and did not know how

to defend the sacred principles of his religion. The Arya Samaj not only vigorously defended the ancient Hindu religion, but also decided to fight the aggressors with their own weapons.

(iv) The Arya Samaj took up cudgels on behalf of the Hindus in every trouble arising out of the question of cow-killing or conversion of Hindus to an alien faith. This was also felt as an inconvenient departure from the established ways of Hinduism, and not infrequently such matters went up to certain Government officers, and the Arya Samaj was at once put down as a quarrelsome body.

(v) The Arya Samaj produced, as every new movement would, sturdy independence of character and sense of self-respect, and this prevented them from visiting Government officers as frequently as was expedient. It will be admitted that until a few years ago the same facilities for visiting officers did not exist as they do now, and Arya Samajists with greater sense of self-respect than of prudence and expedience refrained from seeing Government officials. This caused the misunderstanding about the Samaj to grow and accumulate until it had reached the danger point.[1]

The reasons for the hostility of the government seem to be correct. The detractors of the Samaj, apart from fighting it out at their own levels, did take the militant organization to the court of the government. The Christian missions seem to have done the maximum damage in this regard. As early as 1883, a paper 'conducted under their influence' charged Arya Samaj of harbouring political tendencies aimed at subversion of British rule.[2] In the years to come more such voices were heard. The climax was, however, reached in 1888 when Bishop Parker of the American Methodist mission who was considered an authority on the subject wrote to the Government thus:

> My opinion is that the Government has much more need to watch the Aryas than we missionaries have. They have their secret Samajas. They will control the National Congress, and they are as full of hate as possible. From all the

talk, private and public, that I have heard, I am convinced that the Aryas are taking the place of the Irishman, and are bound to go against the Government.[3]

The Hindus and Muslims, too, did not lag behind in this respect. Says Mahatma Munshi Ram:

> Hindu '*pope*' robbed of his perquisites and the Musalman fanatic deprived of the prospect of heaven by converting *Kafirs* . . . never missed the chance of indulging in slanders against the common foe. If a Hindu-Mohammedan riot was apprehended, the Arya Samaj was at the bottom of the mischief. If a seditious tract was circulated, the Aryas were surreptitiously helping the offender and secretly patting him on the back, though outwardly disclaiming all connections with him. These statements could neither be proved nor disproved but they served one admirable purpose—the virus was imperceptibly injected and germs of suspicion were bred.[4]

The Arya leadership knew that vested interests were trying to harm them. In consequence, they took every opportunity to clear their position. For instance, the moment the accusation made by the Christian paper referred to above came to their notice, they gave a suitable reply to it through the columns of the *Vedic magazine*:

> This piece of information is quite new to us, and must have been obtained from the new dispensationistic inspiration. The society (Arya Samaj) is for religious and social reforms, but has no hand in political matters, and he who in the face of its printed and widely circulated principles asserts it to be a political body is either a malicious person or one whose abode ought to be in the Lunatic Asylum.[5]

When the secretary of the National League sent a letter to the Lahore Arya Samaj—the premier Samaj in India—seeking its help in the matter of a memorial proposed to be submitted to the Viceroy in regard to the representation of Indian interests in the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Antrang Sabha* (Executive

Committee) of the Samaj, while rejecting the proposal in its meeting held on 12 November 1886, passed the following resolution:

> The letter of the Secretary National League in the matter of memorial to His Excellency the Governor-General and Viceroy regarding representation in the Imperial Legislative Council was placed before the meeting. This is a political matter and politics is beyond the scope of the Arya Samaj. Hence resolved unanimously that the Secretary National League be informed in reply to his letter that the Arya Samaj can do nothing in this matter.[6]

About the same time, the *Arya Pratinidhi Sabha*, U.P., also took a similar stand in this regard : they put the following rule in their bye-laws : "No Arya Samaj shall, as a body, have any direct or indirect connection with any political agitation or movement or take any part therein." This rule is said to have been added to the bye-laws in 1888, because an Arya Samaj in U.P. had nominated and sent some delegates to the Indian National Congress this year.[7]

But the question is : Was the Arya Samaj in reality a non-political organization, as is made out by its leadership? For seeking a proper answer to this question, a thorough examination of the Arya leadership in this period is needed. At this point in time, the Samaj leadership was composed mainly of the urban middle classes who were (i) government servants, (ii) businessmen, (iii) traders, (iv) contractors, (v) advocates and (vi) professionals. The majority of them belonged to the first four categories who depended upon the government for their well-being. As such they, according to their class character, could not afford to oppose the government. And it was precisely for this reason that they declared from house tops that the Samaj was a non-political organization and that it was loyal to the government. Persons belonging to the last two categories showed independence of character. But not all of them—even some leaders belonging to these categories, as we shall see later, joined hands with the former. There were reasons for that—and these will also be discussed later.

But while a majority of influential Samaj leadership were thus pro-government at this time, the Arya masses were not. As noted above, Dayananda had a profound impact upon his followers. It was but natural, therefore, that the mass of the Arya people, influenced and inspired by that great *Sanyasi*, should have taken to national politics. However, at the time under reference these men were confronted with two opposing currents. Their great master had told them to participate in national politics to achieve *swarajya*. But their middle class leadership—a bulk of it—was asking them not to go anywhere near politics and be loyal to the government. They did not obey the former. They listened to their master—Dayananda.

The accusation that is usually levelled against the present leadership that 'they say something and do just the opposite' is therefore incorrect. The leaders were honest in their profession of loyalty but their followers did not listen to them.[8] In this situation the leadership of the middle class collaborators faced grave danger to their credibility in the eyes of the government. But shrewd men as they were, they advanced a very plausible thesis to avert the crisis. Arya Samaj on the whole, they said, was not political. Some members of the Arya Samaj, they said, no doubt participated in politics in their individual capacity—but not as members of the Arya Samaj. The Samaj as such was a loyal body. The following excerpts from a write-up by Dr. Gokul Chand Narang (Later Sir) will clear the point still further:

> Arya Samaj : . . . has been gratefully conscious of the blessings of security of life and property and religious neutrality which it enjoys under *Pax Britannica* . . . Long before the present situation was even thought of by anybody, the Arya temples resounded with the loyal song of one of the foremost hymn-writers of the Arya Samaj who says—"Under thy just Government, the lion and the lamb drink at one place. May thy rule, Mother Victoria, extend from East to West!" . . . Arya Samaj as a body has absolutely nothing to do with any criticisms of Government measures, and I assure you, Sir, that during the fifteen years or so I have been in touch with the Arya Samaj I have not heard a single speech condemning or criticising the Government or its officials.

> The members of the Arya Samaj like the members of the loyalist religion in India are at liberty to join any public movement and if some members of the Samaj take part in politics and even occupy prominent positions in political organisations, it is not because they are Aryas, but because they are Indians and like their brethren of Islam and other denominations happen to possess some public spirit and take interest in practical affairs. Their prominence must be due to their superiority in education and culture and public spirit, which qualities too are not the necessary results of their being Aryas. For Babu Surendra Nath is a Hindu, Mr. Gokhale somewhat of a Brahman, Dadabhai Naroji and Mehta are Parsees, Mr. Tyabji and Mr. Sayani were Muhammadans.[9]

The argument seems to have served some purpose for some time, for we find several government officials propounding almost similar views. For instance, E.P. Maclagan, Supdt. of the Census Operations, Punjab, observed in 1891 :

> The fact that the Aryas are mainly recruited from one class, and that the Samaj possesses a very complete organization of its own, has laid it open to the charge of supporting as a body the proclivities of a large section of its members; but the Samaj as such is not a political but a purely religious body.[10]

Louis Dane, the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, also thought in the same vein :

> At any rate most of our best and ablest Hindu officials in upper India are Arya Samajists and though some politicians may have joined the movement, its real object is, I believe, to reform the gross abuses of Hinduism, and if so we ought rather to sympathise with the reformer.[11]

Burn, Superintendent of the Census Operations, U.P. expressed almost identical views in the *Census Report* of that province for 1901 : 'That Aryas are would-be-politicians is true, but that

they are so because they are Aryas is a proposition in the highest degree doubtful.'[12]

Sir Herbert Risley, Home member, Government of India even went a step further:

> I am not qualified, he said, to speak with authority on the subject of the Samaj, but the impression which I have formed from enquiries made during the Census and from the *Census Reports* is primarily a religious and social one and that it is only political in the sense that many of its members are also politicians and that in the event of any political agitation being started the organisation of the Samaj would be utilised by the agitators if they were influential members of the sect. To this extent any religious movement that is started by the English educated men is bound to be political. . . . But I do not think that Samaj can fairly be described as a political organisation.[13]

These opinions were, however, not strong enough to dispel the cloud of suspicion surrounding the Arya Samaj. A large number of government officials still looked upon it as a society that was through and through political and seditious. The profession of Arya leaders that the Samaj as an organization had nothing to do with politics did not carry any conviction with them.

These officers were not being unreasonable in discrediting the professions of the loyalist leadership. For the fact was that Arya Samajists very much used the Arya Samaj organization—its platform, press and educational institutions for political purposes. A few examples to substantiate this point will be relevant. In 1879, the Lahore Arya Samaj discussed religious and social questions and pointed out the "urgent necessity for general and technical education, and above all, the national union and self-help." Three years later, in 1882, the same Samaj arranged a lecture by the then Secretary of their Samaj on 'Nationality'. Again in 1899, the chief speaker 'at the meeting of the so-called cultured section insisted upon the liberal and national character of the Arya Samaj religion'. It was about the year 1890, says a CID report, that "open disloyalty began to characterise the public speeches of leading Aryas and in that year Pandit Ram Bhaj Dutta and Munshi

Ram, who preached at Gujrat, Sialkot and Gurjanwala with the object of collecting money for a *gurukula*, spoke strongly against Government and said that sepoys were foolish enough to enlist on Rs. 7 or Rs. 8 a month to be killed; but after being taught in the *gurukula* they would know better." Similar language was used by Munshi Ram in 1903 in lectures delivered at Jhang in the same connection.[14] Hundreds of other Arya *upadeshakas* and itinerant preachers made almost similar preachments from the *vedis* (sacred platforms) of the Samaj.[15]

The Arya press also advocated similar ideas.[16] And so did their educational institutions—the *gurukulas*[17] and the D.A.V. schools and colleges.[18]

Thus the thinking of the government officials that the Arya Samaj had for itself a political programme of national emancipation was not altogether baseless. This belief was further strengthened in 1907 when they confronted the so-called 'Punjab disturbances.'

II

As already noted, the partition of Bengal had made a deep impact on the national movement in Punjab. Especially, the *swadeshi* movement, which gathered momentum almost everywhere during the anti-partition agitation, did considerably well here. But the social base of the national movement was still anything but broad : the rural masses, who formed the bulk of the population, still kept away from it. This situation, however, underwent change in 1907, thanks to some measures affecting them taken by the government.

The first step of the government that antagonized the rural masses was the Punjab Colonization of Land Bill. The Punjab government had converted the barren waste-land of the central Punjab into a fertile farmland in 1887 by diverting the water of the Chenab through perennial canals at a cost of about 30,000,000 rupees for three obvious reasons. In the first place, the rich farmlands would yield handsome revenue. Secondly, they would ease the ever-increasing population pressure on the lands in the Central districts. And thirdly, a large number of settlers would live unaffected by the new political wind in the colony under the direct supervision of the government.[19]

The colony soon filled the first two official aspirations. By 1907—'the government received over Rs. 700,000 annually as net profit from water charges and land revenue. A large number of persons of official choice from Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Jullundur, Sialkot and Hoshiarpur districts and ex-servicemen from other places were settled over 2,000,000 acres'.[20] In the beginning it seemed that the third condition will also be fulfilled. But the colonization officer and his subordinate staff whose duty it was to see that the peasant grantees lived on their land, cut wood from specified areas, maintained a clean compound, and made arrangements for sanitary disposal of night soil etc., created intolerable fuss on trivial issues arising out of those matters. In the words of an American scholar, who has made an indepth study of the problem :

> Subsequently trouble began to appear in the colony which threatened the tranquil and prosperous atmosphere of this Punjab show-place. First the irrigation department ran out of good land and distributed plots not readily accessible to canal branches. From 1902 onwards officials were faced with irate colonists in possession of inferior lands. Moreover, land holding tended to become fragmented. When the original colonists died, the occupancy right of their land was subdivided among sons. The British became alarmed at a process which if unchecked might eventually leave the colonists with only a few acres. . . . The people might be prosperous up to a certain point, but their lives would be narrow and sordid and government would look in vain to 'them for any active help in time of trouble'. Finally the canal officer was finding it increasingly difficult to enforce discipline. Many colonists evaded residence conditions, illegally cut trees. . . . After unsuccessfully attempting to frighten the colonists by confiscating the grant of perennial offenders, the colonization staff developed an informed system of fines which they charged in lieu of confiscation. The fine system went uncontested until 1903, but . . . lawyers or relatives of lawyers took the matter to the civil courts.[21]

Thus after 1902-3, there was discontent among the colonists. The situation worsened still further when the government

prepared the Punjab Colonization Bill, several provisions of which 'were retroactive, openly abrogating the conditions, originally covenanted with the colonists'. In the new scheme of things

> fresh conditions were added, including the planting of trees and sanitary rules. The Bill forbade transfer of property by will. Only strict primogeniture as interpreted by the canal officer would be permitted in the future. Fines were legalized, while the courts were explicitly barred from interfering with executive orders.[22]

The bill caused a great deal of resentment among the people. But the Punjab government failed to see it in its true colours because 'of the administrative assumption that it knew what was best for the rural Punjab'.[23] The protests were taken as empty sounds and they believed that 'the colonists would soon realize that the British passed the seemingly harsh legislation only to protect the agriculturists'. Punjabis, they thought, 'had meekly accepted earlier legislation, and they would similarly accept the new colonisation bill'.[24]

The bill was passed by the Punjab Legislative Council and given assent to by Sir Charles Rivaz, the then lieutenant-governor on 5 March 1907 in the face of popular opposition.

As if this was not enough, the government proposed in November 1906 'a drastic increase in the occupier rate (the charge on canal water) on the Bari Doab canal running through the districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Lahore. Although the enhancement averaged 25 per cent, the increase on cash crops such as sugar cane etc. and vegetables bordering urban areas ran as high as 50 per cent.[25] The government was not aware that the peasantry affected by this measure was already suffering on account of the non-availability of enough water by the over-extension of canals. The Chief Engineer, Irrigation, had inaugurated in 1905 a redistribution programme to correct the problem but 'the resulting confusion over which branches would be altered and bribery demands by subordinate officials only intensified the discontent'. Several officials gave dissenting notes to the proposal but Rivaz, the lieutenant-governor ignoring their comments published the notification of the increases in water rates.[26]

About this very time, the government also increased land revenue in the Rawalpindi district from 27,500 to 45,000. This steep rise caused great resentment among the peasantry in the district. The Land Alienation Act (1900) amendment bill (1907) which put certain restrictions on further sale of land by agriculturists to certain categories of alienees also added fuel to the fire.[27] The bill was passed by the legislature on 1 February 1907.

There was also a so-called 'visitation of God' which worsened the situation still further. Unfortunately for the suffering people, the epidemic of plague broke out in the Punjab about this time. In a telegram to Morley, the secretary of state, Lord Minto, the Viceroy, observed that people held them responsible for the outbreak. "The horrible ravages", he said, "are raising all sorts of wild suspicion against us; that we are poisoning the wells and are determined to kill off a percentage of the people".[28]

The appalling mortality from the deadly epidemic made the people hostile and labour scarce and raised their wages abnormally.[29] In Amritsar district, for instance, the average wages of an agricultural labourer were in 1900 Rs. 60 and of a carpenter etc. Rs. 12.6 a month but in 1907 these rose to Rs. 80 for the former and Rs. 25 for the latter.[30] This added to the difficulties of the peasantry and contributed to their disaffection towards the government.

Mishandling of the case of *The Panjabee*, a nationalist English paper from Lahore, did in the urban centres what had been done by the above measures in the rural areas. The paper has an interesting story connected with its origin. In the beginning of 1904 there arose a quarrel between the principal and some students of the Government College, Lahore on *swadeshi* question. The original letters of the students, it is said, 'who had supplied information about it to *The Tribune* were shown by that paper to a professor of the College and thus their names were revealed to the Principal'. As a reaction to this, about a dozen Arya Samaj leaders started the paper, each accepting responsibility 'for losses in running the proposed journal to the extent of Rs. 1,000'.[31] K.K. Athavale, a journalist from Poona, was selected the editor on the recommendation of Bal

Gangadhar Tilak. Jaswant Rai, a dynamic young Arya, managed its affairs. It was conducted under Lala Lajpat Rai's care.

The first issue of *The Panjabee* made its appearance in the first week of October, 1904. "The paper", says Lajpat Rai, "got a reputation from the very first issue which contained pungent criticism of the doings of several officials including a Hindu Deputy Commissioner. This convinced the readers that the paper would spare nobody. Several 'notes' and one or two articles in this first number were written by me".[32]

The policy of the paper and its fearless writings soon made it popular with the people.[33] The government was a great deal annoyed with it but did not think it proper to take any action against it for, as noted by Sir Denzil Ibbetson, prosecution of a paper 'does an infinity of harm'.

> If unsuccessful, it is a disastrous blunder. If successful, it advertises far and wide the matter to which objection is taken, and brings it to the ears of thousands who otherwise would never have heard of it; it attracts public attention to the prosecution of men who pose as martyrs for the good of their country and people; the speeches of counsel are often almost as harmful as the original matter; when sentence is pronounced there are pathetic scenes in court, the martyrs bowing their heads to receive the parting benedictions of the party leaders; they are garlanded as they mount the vehicle which is to convey them to jail; they are attended on the road by crowds who insult Europeans; when released they are conducted in triumphant procession through the streets. Meanwhile, if it is a newspaper that is being prosecuted its fortune is made, for its circulation increases enormously; the proceedings in court are reported in minute detail; sympathetic articles are sedulously collected and reprinted from the whole of the Indian Press; the proceedings are spun out to an intolerable length; while the evil is not suspended, even temporarily.[34]

But in 1907 *The Panjabee* was prosecuted. The paper wrote on 11 April against the deliberate murder by shooting of a Muslim orderly refusing to carry the dead carcass of a pig shot by an Englishman (*Sahib*) out for sport.[35] The story stirred

'the native mind' and the government was compelled to take the editor and proprietor of the paper to task 'for spreading hatred among various races, in this case between the British and the Muslims'.[36]

The case was put up before R.A. Mant, the District Magistrate Lahore who decided it on 15 February 1907: Jaswant Rai, the proprietor was awarded rigorous imprisonment for two years and Athavale, the editor for six months.

How did our people react to this decision? This is best described in the words of Lajpat Rai, an eyewitness:

> The order was read out to Lala Jaswant Rai and Mr. Athavale at about 10 o'clock. A large crowd had assembled in the court compound. (When they left for jail) people ran after the prisoners' carriage and cheered them lustily. Flowers were showered on them at several places. Immediately I presented a bail application in the Sessions Court. This being granted, I myself took the warrant for release to the jail.
>
> Meanwhile the mob had caused some damage in the district magistrate's bungalow and created panic in the entire civil station. Youngmen hurled abuse at some white people, threw mud on the carriages of others, and even manhandled a few of them. To English eyes the *ghadr* (of 1857) was being enacted again. The atmosphere in the town became very tense.
>
> A crowd was waiting outside when Messrs Jaswant Rai and Athavale were let out of jail. I was also present there and so was the veteran Lala Ishwar Das. The mob became rowdy near the district magistrate's bungalow, but we controlled it. In the Lawrence Gardens it attacked an Englishman going in a phaeton because he was a reporter of the *Civil & Military Gazette*, and there was bitter resentment against that journal. I shouted at once saying that it was disgraceful that such a big crowd should attack a solitary individual. It was nothing but cowardice. I was hissed by the boys, but the Englishman was spared. The crowd marched along censuring my conduct.[37]

It so happened that Mr. G.K. Gokhale visited Lahore that day (15 February 1907). He arrived at the railway station at about 4 o'clock.

> People had assembled there in large numbers. Everywhere they were talking about *The Panjabee* case. When Mr. Gokhale got into a carriage, the waves of enthusiasm surged high. Loud shouts started—'Victory to Bharat Mata', 'Perdition on her Enemies', etc., etc. People unharnessed the horses of Mr. Gokhale's carriage... When having gone round the rest of the town, the procession was marching through Anarkali, the crowd seemed innumerable. Lala Jaswant Rai and Mr. Athavale were also present and a huge crowd was standing behind them. The people lifted both of them and put them forcibly into the carriage in which sat Mr. Gokhale and myself (Lajpat Rai). Perhaps Mr. Gokhale did not relish this very much, but he was helpless, for the popular feeling was at an intense pitch.[38]

Gokhale's visit served as fuel to the fire that was already alight in the Punjab.[39]

An appeal was preferred against the decision of the D.M. in the court of the sessions judge, Lahore who reduced the sentence to six months imprisonment to each of 'the culprits'.[40]

The Chief Court was approached soon after an appeal against the sessions' verdict but to no avail.

> "The day the orders were to be read", said Lajpat Rai, "the judges looked pale with fear. A strong posse of police was posted in the court compound, as also on the roadside from the court to the prison. Justice Read sent his peon twice to his bungalow to see that all was well there. When the Chief Judge had read out the orders and the police averted Jaswant Rai and Athavale, I stepped forward and shook hands with both. Jaswant Rai touched my feet.
>
> On the way to the prison the police and the mob came into collision with each other several times. People threw mud at the police, so much so that the European police officials left their carriage and took shelter in Lala Jaswant Rai's. The police attacked the people furiously.[41]

One incident is worth taking note of here for nothing betrays the spirit of those days better than this. Kishan Singh, a ten-year-old boy of the D.A.V. School, Lahore, was so much infuriated by the conviction of Jaswant Rai and Athavale that coming across an Englishman in a street of Lahore, he cried out aloud: "Cursed British justice". The *Sahib* at once ordered a policeman to arrest the boy. The policeman arrested the boy and took him to the police station. The *Sahib* again questioned him there on the subject. Unnerved, the boy shouted: "Yes I have cursed British justice because your countrymen have most unjustly convicted the proprietor and editor of *The Panjabee*".[42] The above account shows that *nai hawa* (new wind) had begun to blow in the Land of the Five Rivers. There was a lot of awakening. For example, the central districts where nothing but loyal disposition had been in evidence everywhere earlier, saw over 28 meetings held (Table 5.1) in a little less than two and half months from mid-March through May in which 'a lot of sedition was talked'.

In most of these meetings Ajit Singh or his 'agents' took a prominent part. This stormy petrel of the Indian politics belonged to a small hamlet, Khatkar Kalan in district Jullundur. His was a Sikh, Arya Samajist family which had a brilliant record of patriotism and sacrifice.[44] Fateh Singh, his grandfather 'refused to take arms against the rebels fighting against the British in 1857'. His father, Arjan Singh, was also a patriot in every beat of his heart. And so were his three sons, Kishan Singh, Sawaran Singh and Ajit Singh and the grandsons Bhagat Singh,[45] Kultar Singh, and Kulbir Singh. Home was, thus, the first nursery where this revolutionary learnt his first lesson of patriotism and sacrifice for the sake of his country. This spirit got matured a great deal in the Arya Samajist institutions, the Sain Das Anglo-Sanskrit High school, Jullundur and the D.A.V. College, Lahore, where he studied. To quote his own words:

> S. Dilbagh Singh, one of my cousins, used to study in a Mission School where the teachers were British Missionaries. I used to take it ill. I insisted on my uncle that we must start a school in Jullundur where we should have teachers of our country who should be patriots. . . . So my uncle started a school there. Lala Sunder Dass, a prominent Arya

Table 5.1: Meetings held in Punjab between 1 March and 1 May, 1907[43]

Sr. No.	Date	Place	Promoted by	Attendance	Subject of discussion
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	16 March	Sialkot	Amar Das, Hazura Singh, Gurbaksh Singh, pleaders	300	*The Panjabee* case
2.	17 March	Lahore	Ajit Singh	800	Swadeshi Movement
3.	19 March	Sialkot	Amar Dass and local pleaders	1,000	*The Panjabee* case
4.	22 March	Lyallpur	Lajpat Rai, Ajit Singh, Jaswant Rai, Duni Chand, etc.	Between 8,000 & 9,000	The Colonisation Bill
5.	24 March	Lahore	Ajit Singh	2,000	"Hindustan Hamara Hai"*
6.	29 March	Amritsar	Ajit Singh	1,000	The political situation in India.
7.	30 March	Sialkot	The District Association	Numbers not given	A weekly meeting by the District Association
8.	29 March 30 March	Golra, Lyallpur district	Activists of Lyallpur district	4,000 to 5,000	Colonisation Act
9.	1 April	Lahore	Ajit Singh	2,500	No special subject

10.	6 April	Sialkot	District Association	Not reported	As in No. 7
11.	7 April	Lahore	Ajit Singh	3,000	Enhancement of *abiana*
12.	7 April	Ferozepur	Lajat Rai	Not reported	Political situation
13.	-do-	Wazirabad, Gujranwala	Amar Das, Hazura Singh and Arun Singh of Sialkot	200	Swadeshi Movement
14.	9 April	Gujranwala	Ajit Singh	200	—do—
15.	10 April	Ferozepore	Hazara Singh of Lyallpur, Sadhu Suraj Singh of Amritsar College	Not reported	Land Alienation Act
16.	12 April	Amritsar	Ajit Singh	6,000	Political situation
17.	13 April	Barial, Hoshiar-pur district	Naubat Rai, Parmesri Das, Arya Samaj preachers	Not reported	On the colonisation Bill
18.	14 April	Lahore	Ajit Singh	3,000	*The Panjabee* case
19.	—do—	Sialkot	District Association	—	As in No. 7
20.	—do—	Lyallpur	Dina Nath ex-Assistant Surgeon, Kirpal Singh ex-Head constable of Police, Prabhdial, Editor, Jhang Syal	—	The Railway strike at Lyallpur
21.	16 April	Lahore	Ajit Singh	1,000	*The Panjabee* case

Contd.

Table 5.1 (*Contd.*)

1	2	3	4	5	6
22.	16 April	Wazirabad Gujranwala district	Amardas, Hazura Singh, Pleaders, Sialkot, some Lyallpur Zemindars and local pleaders	Not reported	The North-Eastern Railway Strike
23.	17 and 18 April	Lyallpur	Local pleaders	400	*The Panjabee case*
24.	—do—	Multan	Ajit Singh and Ghasita Ram Arya Samaj preachers	2,000 (included 200 Sikh sepoys)	Political situation
25.	20 April	Gurdaspur	Anjuman-i-Muhibban-i-Watan	Not reported	'India's affliction'.
26.	21 and 22 April	Ferozepore	Local pleaders	—do—	*The Panjabee* case
27.	21 April	Rawalpindi	Ajit Singh, Lahore and Amolak Ram, pleader Rawalpindi	8,000	The excessive revenue and *abiana, begar etc.*
28.	26, 27 and 28 April	Batala, Gurdaspur district	Ajit Singh	1,500	Political situation

> Samajist, agreed to become Headmaster.... Sunder Das was a great patriot. He used to preach patriotism in his speeches in school.... Sunder Dass used to preach *swadeshi*. As a result about 70 per cent of students in the school took to *swadeshi*. ... After finishing my education there I came to D.A.V. College, Lahore. Principal Hansraj was very kind to me. ... I read Urdu translation of Garibaldi's and Mazzini's life stories and this had good effect on me.[46]

Ajit Singh, along with his associates who were also staunch followers of Dayananda, formed the *Bharat Mata Society* at Lahore in 1907 for attaining *Swarajya*.[47] After this he chalked out his plans for achieving his goal and organized meetings at different centres in Lahore morning and evening.

> These meetings, says Ajit Singh, were addressed by my brother (Kishan Singh) and Ghasita Ram (one Arya preacher). At the end of each meeting announcements were made that those who wanted to know more about the bills should come to *Bharat Mata Mandir* on Sundays.... Just at that time when these meetings were taking place in Lahore peasants from adjoining villages waited upon L. Lajpat Rai in deputation and solicited Congress help in getting these bills cancelled. L. Lajpat Rai disappointed them saying that the Congress was helpless. ... These deputations... also came to *Bharat Mata Mandir* on Sunday (3 March 1907)... I spoke for about 2½ hours and explained how the new bills... could be undone.... This brought awakening and political consciousness among the public and they lost terror of the British.[48]

This meeting gave about 180 volunteers most of whom were students of the D.A.V. institutions to Ajit who offered to go to villages in Lyallpur district to spread his revolutionary message there. Ajit enrolled them as members of his society. These volunteers did a lot of useful work and prepared ground for the meeting at Lyallpur on 22 March 1907.[49]

In the historic Lyallpur meeting about 8 to 9 thousand people assembled. The meeting was memorable for two great happenings: first, Banke Dyal, editor of *Jhang Sial*, an Arya

Samajist paper published from Jhang, read, for the first time his poem "*Pagri Sambhal Jatta, Pagri Sambhal Oye*" which stirred the Land of the Five Rivers,[50] and second, Lajpat Rai made his first powerful speech on the Punjab affairs in which he uttered these memorable words :

> Brothers, Government says that they have given you these lands and you should thank it and obey it for the same. My first question to the Government, on your behalf is, whence did the Government bring these lands ! The lands are here along with the spacious sky over them from time immemorial, ever since creation. I ask when did this Government come, how did it obtain these lands, and how did it give them to us?...

Referring to the pitiable condition of the peasantry, he observed :

> Famine overtakes us everyday not because there is no corn in the land, but because we have no money to buy it with. Thousands of tons of corn are everyday exported to foreign lands while we starve here. My brothers! Make your lives useful for the country. This is only possible when we are united and one. Your forefathers shed their blood for this self-respect. Man is but mortal. Thousands die everyday in plague. That is no glorious death. Guard your country's honour : help your afflicted brethren. Don't fear the jails, nor even death, and your object will be achieved.[51]

The meeting was also addressed by Ajit Singh who 'explained to the public about our strength and that police and military were ours, that instead of paying enhanced land revenue, we should not pay a penny to the government'. He also exhorted the police and militarymen, who composed peasantry, 'to resign and come back to their homes'. The government servants and officials, he said 'should be completely boycotted'.[52]

After this, several other meetings were held of which the one at Rawalpindi held on 21 April 1907 was most extraordinary.[53] Hans Raj, a well-known pleader of Rawalpindi, presided over this meeting and another famous pleader, Amolak Ram,

spoke on the subject of increased land revenue under new settlement and prosecution of *The Panjabee* newspaper. Ajit Singh gave a stirring speech which, as the following excerpt would show, was 'most seditious':

> The present rulers are our menials (*Kamins*), it is shameful to present petitions to them. It is also shameful that our menials should redress our grievances. The deputy commissioners and superintendents of police and other high officials are at our service as *Khidmatgars*...
>
> The rulers have increased the land revenue four to six times with the object of starving the Indians and discouraging Indian manufacturers in order to benefit themselves. Be shot and do not mind, rather consider that you died of plague. Die for your country... If you are sent to jail, think that you go to *tirtha*... I wish to impress upon you that if you are men, you should strike the iron while it is hot, and grasp the golden opportunity now held out to you. Otherwise you may despair of your lives and you will not deserve the name of men.[54]

Hans Raj, proposed resolutions sympathising with the editor and proprietor of *The Panjabee*, and protesting against increased land revenue, water rates and forced labour (*begar*) which were unanimously passed.[55]

What was said in the meeting was in fact an open challenge by the Aryas to the greatest imperial power in the world.

Enraged by this, the local representative of the Raj, Mr. P.D. Agnew, the deputy commissioner of Rawalpindi, sent the following notice to those who were responsible for holding this 'seditious meeting':

> Lala Gurdas Ram, Advocate, Lala Hans Raj, Pleader, Lala Amolak Ram, Pleader— It has been reported to me that a meeting was held in the City not long ago at which a person named Ajit Singh was the principal speaker. Lala Hans Raj is said to have been the President, Lala Amolak Ram Secretary and Convener of the meeting, and Lala Gurdas Ram one of the speakers. It is reported to me that the speech of Ajit Singh was of an extremely seditious character.

> The speech of Lala Gurdas Ram partook of the same character, and contained also some disgusting and unseemly expressions with regard to Mr. Kitchin, Settlement Collector and Magistrate. I hereby give you notice that I shall hold a public enquiry into the above matters at 11 a.m. on 2nd May. You are invited to be present and anything you may wish to say will be duly heard. The enquiry is to be held with two objects in view : (1) Should the evidence be considered sufficient, with a view to asking the sanction of Government for your prosecution under Sections 124-A and 505, Indian Penal Code; (2) In order to report the facts which the enquiry may establish as proved to the Financial Commissioner and the Chief Court with a view to action being taken to suspend your licenses as Revenue Agents, or to take action under Sections 41, 37 of the Legal Practitioners Act as the case may be? Please write 'seen' below this, (Signed) P.D. Agnew, District Magistrate, 30th April 1907.[56]

"This notice", says Lajpat Rai, "was perfectly illegal, the District Magistrate having no power under the Criminal Law or the Legal Practitioners Act to do any thing of the kind. Never before, since the introduction of British law in India, has any such notice been known to be issued." The purpose of the District Magistrate evidently was 'to disgrace, insult and annoy the persons concerned and to strike terror among the people'.[57]

As was to be expected, the 'accused' lawyers took no note of the district magistrate's illegal notice.[58] But people of Rawalpindi did. They held a public meeting in the *mandi* on 1 May (evening) at which Khazan Singh, Barrister-at-law, Janki Nath Kaul, Barrister-at-law, Mansa Ram, Pleader and Uttam Chand told the people present 'to go to the *kutcherry* next morning to help and save' their innocent brother-lawyers who were made to suffer for no fault of theirs.

The pleading had effect : next day, a large gathering mostly composed of the students of the D.A.V. College and other Arya institutions assembled at the courts around noon. The people were full of anger over the maltreatment meted out to these men. This explains why when the district magistrate, Mr Agnew, came to conduct his business at about 12.30 p.m. they

rushed at his *tonga*, yelling and hooting. Their anger did not subside even when he had entered his room : "They made a rush to try and get inside". It was with great difficulty that the security forces could maintain order and save the situation.[59]

The district magistrate sent word to the 'accused' to come, but they did not oblige him. At this the D.M. postponed the hearing to the next day. The crowd which had got restive by now, did not take the news very coolly and 'wrecked gardens, broke windows, and burned carpets of deputy commissioner, district judge, district superintendent of police and assistant adjutant-general, and assaulted stray Europeans' in and near the *Kutcherry* compound. After this, they moved to civil lines, assaulting Europeans on the way and doing damage to several houses. They destroyed motor cars and other property at the Motor Car Company's Garage and practically wrecked the Mission House. They also attacked the Mission Church, and its reading room, the government school and finally a loyalist Sirdar Buta Singh's workshop and the post office.[60]

The British authorities were greatly alarmed and called out the army—the Sikhs and the 10th Hussars, who restored order.[61]

A public meeting was convened for the afternoon to defuse the situation. The district magistrate, however, forbade the holding of the meeting. Interesting as the development leading to this ban on the holding of the meeting is, the story is related in the words of the district magistrate himself :

> Some time between five o'clock and half-past, there was a sound of cheering among the crowd. I was sitting outside under some trees. Lala Lajpat Rai appeared in front of the Police Station accompanied by ten or twelve people who, I thought, were pleaders, among whom I recognised, though I did not much attend to the matter at the time, Lala Hans Raj, who was immediately next to me, Lala Gurdas Ram, who was at the other end of the semi-circle into which they formed themselves, and a minor pleader whose name I think is Nanak Chand. I said to Lala Lajpat Rai, 'I forbid this meeting which you intend to hold in the Mandee. We have a body of twenty-five police here ready with carbines loaded, whom I shall order to fire if the meeting does not disperse,

> and you will be one of the first to suffer'. I also said to Lala Hans Raj and Lala Gurdas Ram 'I hold you responsible for what happened this morning'. Lajpat Rai said that he objected to the tone of these remarks and that he knew the law. I think that remark was addressed to Mr. Tomkins. I said I was not there to listen to objections, but he was there to hear my orders, which were that no meeting was to be held and that he and the pleaders were to go home at once.[62]

As directed, no meeting was held. But the authorities were not satisfied. They arrested Gurdas Ram Sawhney, Hans Raj, Amolak Ram, Khazan Singh and Janki Nath Kaul.[63] This was followed by the apprehension of 63 more.[64] In all 68 persons were hauled up and brought to trial before a special magistrate on charges of rioting, criminal trespass, arson and abetment of the crime.[65]

The trial went on for quite some time. The special magistrate did his very best to award exemplary punishment to each of the accused.[66] But he could not : for want of proper evidence against them, he had to discharge 15 persons on 11 September, six more on 1 October, and the remainder, except for 13, on 2 October. On 5 November he was forced to discharge 7 of these 13 also. Only six persons could be punished as follows :[67]

—Mangal Sain and Kishan Singh	:	7 years R.I. each[68]
—Gopi Chand	:	7 years R.I. and a fine of Rs. 200
—Kashi Ram	:	3 years R.I. and a fine of Rs. 200
—Nand Lal	:	6 months R.I. and a fine of Rs. 200
—Khadim (a boy)	:	6 months R.I.

These persons went in appeal to the chief court against the order to the special magistrate but the appeal was rejected.[69]

The Rawalpindi episode had a great impact on the freedom movement waged in Punjab. The above trial which went on

for a little over five months got full publicity from more than one source and stirred the people.

The government became very angry with the Arya Samajists, for they believed, and rightly of course, that the movement was led by them. Of the five lawyers who were arrested first, all of them were Arya Samajists. Same was the case with most of the remaining 63 persons who were arrested.

About this very time another important case leading to the persecution of one Pindi Das, also added some fuel to the fire. This man was a revolutionary journalist who played a highly significant role in arousing discontent against the high-handedness of the government. However, before a detailed note is taken of his activities and sufferings in the national cause, a brief outline of his life-sketch seems necessary.

Pindi Das was born in 1886 in a Khatri (Malhotra) family of Vanianwala, a small village in Gujranwala district in Punjab (now Pakistan). His father, Ishar Dass, was a government servant who was held in high esteem in his community. Having finished his education in 1904, Pindi joined national politics under the influence of Lajpat Rai. He was a staunch Arya Samajist with a 'revolutionary' bent of mind.[70]

On joining the national politics, the question of 'how to serve my country to the best extent' taxed the mind of young Pindi for some time. Eventually, he decided to go for journalism. He started an Urdu weekly, *India*, from Gujranwala in 1907.[71]

From the very beginning, the paper carried articles on national problems. Especially the series of articles called '*Shiva Shambhoo Ka Chittha*',[72] by which he 'exposed the misdeeds of the British officials', was very popular. In 1907 the paper carried an article, which was an exact copy of a leaflet addressed to the 'Men of the British Army' by a nationalist Indian who had migrated to America. The article drew the attention of the Indian soldiers to their wretched condition. 'Yet they killed their own brethren and risked their lives'! What for? Simply because they wanted to be loyal to the salt of their master? "But you do not understand from whence have the English brought the salt. Really they have got it from the taxes levied on you, of which not even 100,000th part is given to you black men of defective senses and notwithstanding all this

injustice, you are all sitting quietly and are content with considering yourself salt-eaters. . ."[73]

The government found the article 'full of allegations tending to inflame the minds of natives reading it against the English as a whole.' Accordingly, they arrested Pindi Das, the editor and Dina Nath, printer of the paper, and confiscated the press, the Hindustan Steam Press, where the paper was printed. The farce of a trial which went on for some time ended in the award of five years rigorous imprisonment to Pindi.[74]

The people were greatly upset on hearing the news. They stopped the carriage carrying Pindi Das from the court to jail and attacked the police party escorting him. He was profusely garlanded and accorded a hero's welcome. Not only that, the persecution of the bold editor had repercussions throughout the province. The government was severely criticized, and the people were exhorted to rise against such *Zulum* (tyranny).

Punjab was afire. Almost every town and village, especially in the central districts, echoed with the sound of *Pagri sambhal jatta*. Sir Denzil Ibbetson, the Lieutenant-Governor was unnerved. "I regard the present political situation in the Punjab," he said, 'as exceedingly serious, and exceedingly dangerous, and as urgently demanding a remedy."[75]

He felt that Arya Samaj was behind 'the whole mischief.'

> The active spirits belong almost without exception to the Arya Samaj, a society founded primarily with a religious object, but which, in the Punjab at least, has always had a strong political bent. It is difficult to say what their precise object is, and probably a good many of them hardly know themselves. The chief leader of the movement recently urged his followers to "agitate for agitation's sake". Some of them, no doubt, look to driving us out of the country, or at any rate, from power, either by force or by the passive resistance of the people as a whole. But the immediate object of all seems to be, to make our government of the country impossible; and probably the idea of the great number is that we shall then, in order to escape from an impasse, be compelled to give them a larger share of power and of appointments, and to introduce the changes which they desire. And the main method by which they have set

> themselves to bring the Government machine to a standstill is by endeavouring to stir up a feeling of hatred for the English as such and for all that appertains to them.[76]

The 'security of the British dominions from internal commotion is threatened,' the Lieutenant-Governor observed, 'while judicial proceedings are, for certain reasons, inadvisable or improper'.[77] The only way to check the deluge, in his opinion, was to strike in a big way against the Arya Samaj, by deporting its leading lights, Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, which besides making it bereft of effective leadership, would strike terror in the hearts of the Arya rank and file.[78] In consequence, he asked the Viceroy to use Regulation III of 1818 for this purpose and 'save the Punjab' and the Raj.

Why did the Lieutenant-Governor not prosecute these men under the ordinary law? In fact the Lieutenant-Governor knew that it was impossible under the then prevalent conditions to adduce satisfactory evidence against these men. And yet their prosecution, he felt, was necessary. Hence the need for the issue of warrants against them under Regulation III[79] of 1818. Besides this, the Lieutenant-Governor also stressed the extreme emergency of immediate action, as the situation, instead of improving, showed signs of growing seriously worse.[80]

The powers that be at Delhi also got unnerved by the picture painted by Sir Denzil. On 6 May 1907, Lord Minto, the Viceroy-in-Council decided to issue warrants under the Regulation III of 1818 for the deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh to Mandalay.[81]

Lajpat Rai was arrested on 9 May 1907 in Lahore and was immediately removed to Mandalay (15 May).[82] Ajit Singh, however, went underground. A reward of Rs. 500 was offered for his arrest. Despite its best efforts, the government could not lay their hands on him. But finding his remaining underground of no use, Ajit presented himself for arrest on 1 June. He was also removed to Mandalay.[83]

The arrest of Lajpat and Ajit and the repression let loose by the Punjab government was condemned throughout India. In the words of Lajpat Rai himself:

> The whole country spoke like one man irrespective of caste or creed. The Mohammedan merchants of Ahmedabad and

> Surat gave a crushing reply to the lie circulated by Anglo-Indian journalists that the Mohammedans were happy at my deportation and had no sympathy with me. One of the big representative gatherings of Mohammedans held in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh that was reported to have expressed satisfaction at my deportation was attended by seven men only.[84]

Newspapers and journals condemned the government's action in a big way. In the British Parliament, questions were asked on May 13, 1907 about Lajpat Rai's arrest and deportation without trial even before he had actually reached Mandalay.[85] V.H. Rutherford, O'Grady, William Redmond, Frederic Mackarness and Sir Henry Cotton were the prominent M.Ps who took keen interest in the matter.[86] Even ordinary British citizens were moved by the government's action, a very good example of which can be found in the following letter written by one T. Quelch, of 54, Daniel's Road, Nunhead (U.K.) to the *Weekly Times and News* (London) :

> Sir,—Permit me, through the medium of your columns, to protest as a British citizen against the cowardly and unjust deportation of my Indian fellow-subjects—Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. To me it seems monstrous that two men, carrying on a perfectly open and upright agitation, should be seized upon by armed sowars and railroaded far away from their homes and country. It does not say much for a 'progressive' Liberal administration, when it has to make use of a law of 1818—a law that should have passed into the realm of the obsolete years ago—in order to stifle the just criticism of the Hindus. And not only are persons threatened--but the liberty of the Press also. It is very unwise, to put it mildly, for the Government to pursue Russian methods in India. They are sure to react and that very disastrously for British rule in India. . . .
>
> The agitation of Lala Lajpat Rai is certainly justified. Any agitation against such a terrible condition of affairs would be justifiable. If our Government thinks it can put a stop to the discontent by its present policy, it is likely to receive a rude awakening. It will not have to deal then with a few

public-spirited Sikhs, or discontented Babus, but with the whole vast population—and the British only number there just about as many as die from the plague every month.

My friend H.M. Hyndman has made equally as 'strong' statements about Indian affairs as any made by Lala Lajpat Rai. Yet the Liberal Government dare not prosecute him under any law of 1818.

Yours faithfully : T. QUELCH[87]

Some pro-government reactionary elements, however, behaved differently. In their anxiety to please the bureaucracy or serve their vested interests they condemned them as conspirators. Some Aryas, too, behaved shamefully : Balmukund Gupta, the great Haryanavi litterateur wrote a very powerful satirical poem on the subject. Indicting these persons for their unbecoming behaviour, he said :

सबके सब पंजाबी अब हैं लायल्टी में चकनाचूर,
सारा ही पंजाब देश बन जाने को है लायलपूर ।
लायल हैं सब सिक्ख अरोड़े खत्री भी सब लायल हैं,
मेढ़ रहतिये बनिये धुनिये लायल्टी के कायल हैं ।
धर्म-समाजी पक्के लायल, लायल हैं अखबारे-आम,
दयानंदियों का तो है लायल्टी से ही काम तमाम ।
लायल लाला हंसराज हैं लायल लाला रोशनलाल,
लायल्टी ही जिनका सुर है लायल्टी ही जिनकी ताल ।
पोथी लेकर इन्हें पड़ी, अपनी लायल्टी दिखलाना,
लाट इबटसन देंगे उनको लायल्टी का परवाना ।
मुसलमान साहब तो इससे कभी नही थे छुट्टी में,
पैदा होते ही पीते हैं वह लायल्टी घुट्टी में ।
'वतन' सदा से लायल ही था और अब है 'पैसा अखबार',
लायल्टी के मारे ही हैं वह अब जीने से बेजार ।
लायल सब वकील बारिस्टर जमींदार और लाला हैं,
म्युनिसिपाल्टी वाले तो लायल्टी का परनाला हैं ।
खान-बहादुर राय-बहादुर कितने ही सरदार नवाब,
सब मिल-जुल कर लूट रहे हैं, लायल्टी का खूब सबाब ।
ऐरा गैरा नत्थू खैरा सब पर इसकी मस्ती है,
लायल्टी लाहौर में अब भूसे से भी कुछ सस्ती है ।

केवल दो डिसलायल थे वो एक लाजपत, एक अजीत,
दोनों गये निकाले उनसे नहीं किसी को है कुछ प्रीत।
हाँ, कुछ डिसलायल थे रावलपिण्डी के पंडित लाले,
वह सब पकड़, दिये फाटक में बाहर लगा दिये ताले।
फिर एक और मिला था डिसलायल का बच्चा पिंडी दास,
सोते उसे उठाकर घर से फाटक में करवाया वास।
और दिखाई दिया एक डिसलायल लाला दीनानाथ,
उसको भी एक जुर्म लगाकर पिण्डी के करवाया साथ।
इन सबसे लाला लोगों का कुछ भी नहीं इलाका है,
लायल लोगों के घर में डिस-लायल्टी का फाका है।
पेट बन गये हैं इन सबके लायल्टी के गुब्बारे,
चला नहीं जाता है, थक कर हांप रहे हैं बेचारे।
बहुत फूल जाने से डर है फट न पड़ें यह इनके पेट,
इसी पेट के लिये लगी है लायल्टी की इन्हें चपेट।
सुनते हैं पंजाब देश सीधा सुरपुर को जावेगा,
डिसलायल भारत में रहकर इज्जत नहीं गँवावेगा।

The loyalists' voice proved too feeble to be heard effectively. The nationalists and enlightened British activists, on the other hand, compelled British governments, both in England and India, to see reason. As a result, Lajpat and Ajit were released, despite opposition from the Punjab government, on 18 November 1907.[89]

The news of the release of Lajpat and Ajit was hailed by the people in a big way. Reports the *Prakash*, a newspaper from Lahore :

> The people flocked to see Lala Lajpat Rai and gave expression to their feelings of joy in diverse ways. Some prostrated themselves before him, while others taking the dust from beneath his feet applied it to their eyes. These acts clearly show that Indians have begun to appreciate the services of their national workers and that the action of Government in deporting the Lala has raised him in the estimation of the people. Large numbers of people also went to the house of Ram Bhaj Dutt to see Sardar Ajit Singh.[90]

Newspepers, espacially of the nationalist bent, flashed the news most enthusiastically. An extreme example of this was *Jhang Sial* from Jhang, which flashed the news by quoting two telegrams dispatched by Hiranand, and Bahadur Chand, both local pleaders, which ran as follows :[91]

I. "Bande Mataram. Glory to Bharat. Let her enemies perish and let not the least trace of them remain."—Hira Nand.

II. "Bande Mataram. Truth triumphs in the end and the face of liars is blackened. We have forgotten all our past trouble. Our enemies are today suffering pain in their stomachs."—Bahadur Chand.

Even those newspapers and journals which were hostile came out with editorials and comments appreciating the government's action in releasing the two leaders.[92] The nationalist elements were very happy—it was a shot in their arm. And so were the Arya Samaj leaders and rank and file whose honour was vindicated and Samaj saved.[93] But none was happier than the staff and the students of the D.A.V. and other Arya institutions. The D.A.V. College, Lahore was closed for a day 'to celebrate the event'. The School, too, followed suit. Arya School, Hoshiarpur went a step further—it remained closed for two days. There was rejoicing and merrymaking in other institutions; buildings were illuminated, fire-works displayed and *ladoos* (*Sweets*) distributed throughout the province.[94]

Here a question may be posed : Why did Denzil Ibbetson, the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab present Lajpat Rai in a bad light and have him deported? It is generally alleged that the Lieutenant-Governor was misinformed by his intelligence. But Sir Denzil was a very intelligent man, and a very capable administrator, whose understanding of persons and problems was very sound. He could have not been duped by the intelligence persons so easily. The fact of the matter is that he was not as much worried about Lajpat as he was about the activities of the Arya Samaj. He was informed by his deputy commissioners—of almost all the districts in Punjab—that wherever there was Arya Samaj there was sedition. If the society was not checked, he told the viceroy, the result would

be a deluge which nobody would be in a position to check later. Hence he struck at the society in a number of ways. The Arya Samajists were debarred from entering government services. A close watch was kept on the activities of those Aryas who were already in services, and they were denied promotions unless they left the society. The Arya editors and printers were punished. The Arya institutions—D.A.V. College, Lahore and Gurukula Kangri was given strict warnings that they would be closed if they did not mend their ways. And, finally, he struck at Lajpat Rai, the topmost leader of the Samaj with a view to rendering the Samaj leaderless and secondly to demoralize the Aryas who were taking to nationalist politics.

His actions had the desired results, at least for the time being. The Arya leadership was demoralized and stood on the defensive professing loyalty to the government as the following would show :

(i) Arya papers wrote articles exhorting the Arya Samajists to keep away from political agitation for that could harm the growth of the Samaj[95]. Mahatma Munshi Ram was most active in this respect.

(ii) Arya leaders spoke openly from the Samaj *vedis* to shun politics and remain loyal to the government.[96]

(iii) Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab passed resolutions to the effect that theirs was a religious society having no concern with politics.[97] Their chief, Durga Das, went even to the extent of suggesting that the Aryas should take an oath of loyalty to the government. The suggestion was, however, not accepted by anybody.[98]

(iv) On 22 May 1907, a deputation comprising four prominent Arya leaders of the college section, Lala Hans Raj, R.B. Sohan Lal, R.S. Roshan Lal and Bhagat Ishar Das met Sir Denzil Ibbetson, at Kalka Dist. Ambala (Haryana). Lala Hans Raj, their spokesman, "in brief but appropriate terms assured Sir Denzil that the Arya Samajists as a body had nothing to do with the late disturbances, that the Samaj was an organisation which had for its sole object the religious and educational advancement of its members and that at the time of the

last disturbance in Lahore the College was closed and he firmly believed the D.A.V. College boys had no hand in it." The lieutenant-governor expressed his pleasure 'to receive this assurance' but he said that 'he had been informed by every deputy commissioner in the province that wherever there was an Arya Samaj it was the centre of seditious talks'.[99]

The deputationists were alarmed and called a meeting of the executive committee of the *Arya Pradeshika Sabha Punjab* on 23 May to put a seal of institutional authority on their stand, for in certain quarters it was said that the deputation was not representative of Arya Samaj.[100] This was done unanimously and its results sent to all the Punjab papers in the following manner :

"Sir,— I shall feel obliged by your kindly publishing in your paper the following resolution passed in a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Arya Pradeshik Pratinidhi Sabha (Arya Provincial Assembly) held on the 23rd May 1907. The Sabha has about 95 Samajas affiliated to it.

"Resolved that the Arya Samaj has always been, and is, a non-political body, and this fact the Arya Samaj has publicly declared in speeches and expressed in writings, but as some mischievous people have now here and there spread rumours to the contrary, this meeting of the Executive Committee of the Arya Pradeshik Pratinidhi Sabha takes this opportunity to reiterate its old creed and declares that it has no connection of any kind with any political body or with any political agitation in any shape.

Yours, etc.,
May 27 (1907) HANS RAJ
President, Arya Pradeshik
Pratinidhi Sabha[101]

(v) Lala Lajpat Rai was advised to sever all connections with the Arya Samaj. Said Mahatma Munshi Ram, for instance :

Lala Lajpat Rai should now decide on his future course of conduct. In other words, he should decide whether he

> intends to work as a religious reformer or as a politician. He must be aware that the Congress, of which he is an ornament, is now split up into two parties, viz., the Extremists and the Moderates. No person can sympathise with the Extremist party, which follows principles subversive of religion and morality. The Moderates, who are led by Mr. Gokhale, are, on the other hand, universally popular. If Lala Lajpat Rai is anxious to be a political reformer, he should throw in his lot with one of these parties and work heart and soul for the good of the country; but before doing so he must sever all connection with the Arya Samaj. If, however, his experiences of the last few months have convinced him of the futility of political agitation, he should boldly come forward and devote his life to the service of the Vedic religion. The Editor expresses the hope that Lala Lajpat Rai will deeply ponder over his suggestions.[102]

The college section also thought likewise. In a meeting of their Executive Committee they decided that "the only way to remove the suspicion of the government against the DAV College and Arya Samaj is to keep Lajpat Rai out of the management of both, at any rate for two or three years."[103] Lajpat obliged his friends and tendered his resignation from the executive committee of the Arya Pradeshika Sabha and the managing committee of the DAV College.[104]

There was thus a lot of demoralization on the part of the Arya leadership at this moment. But those who had the welfare of their country at heart did not like this approach of falling prostrate before the government. Nothing can show the feeling of these people better than the following excerpt from the *Aftab*, a nationalist Urdu paper from Delhi, edited by a Muslim :

> He was unable to guess why these people ... (Aryas) should have burnt incense at the altar of government... and disown Lajpat Rai. ... Although he (Editor) is a Muhammadan, yet he cannot bring himself to follow their example. Government may deport or hang him or kill him by setting dogs or kites on him, but he has no hesitation in saying that it is grossly tyrannical on its part to have deported Lajpat

> Rai without (adducing) any proof (of his guilt). The Editor exhorted the Punjabis that this is the time (for them) to show their courage. They should agitate, within the bounds of law, as much as they can and show the world that this province is no whit behind Bengal, and that if one Lajpat Rai has gone a hundred have risen in his place. If they keep silent now the result will be that whenever they raise an outcry in future Government will silence them by deporting one of them.[105]

The *gurukula* leadership also did not like the approach of the 'cultured' leaders. Speaking from the *vedi* of the Lahore Arya Samaj on the occasion of its 31st anniversary (1907) Mahatma Munshi ram castigated these men :

> The Arya Samaj is a self-respecting religious body, he said, whose activities are perfectly lawful and which owes duties to God as well as to man. When the conscience of the Arya Samaj is clear and it never goes against the laws it need not be anxious to wait in sackcloth and ashes upon the representatives of the king . . .
>
> While the individual members of the *Samaj* are *grihasthas* the Samaj as a body is a *sanyasi*. The Sanyasi rising above sectional predilections and racial prejudices takes his stand on a lofty eminence and points out the path of duty to the rulers and the ruled. If a people commits excesses the Arya Samaj has a right to rebuke it and to point out to it that he who cannot conquer his animal nature is not fit for swaraj. If a Government defies the eternal laws of *Dharma* and morality, the *Samaj*, in the exercise of its divine prerogative, is entitled to and will utter ominous words of warning. Brother Aryas : As citizens of the British Empire, i.e., as *grihasthas* you may organise as many deputations as you will but you shall not do it in the name of the Arya Samaj—the mighty Sanyasi, Sanyasis owe absolute allegiance only to their Maker and lay petitions only at his footstool. The Sanyasi does not covet social position or worldly honour. His sole privilege consists in the Divine right to serve humanity.[106]

The Mahatma exhorted the Aryas not to follow the leaders who disgraced the Samaj by their sycophancy :

> Do not look up for guidance and light to those who pose as leaders of the Samaj. If you will rivet your gaze upon them, believe me, disappointment is in store for you. I say if they are the centre of your hopes then wind up the Arya Samaj. If they are the cynosure of your eyes, the hopes which the speech of my young friend has awakened in your breast are a snare and a delusion.[107]

He observed that

> the present is the most critical time in the life of the Arya Samaj and it, therefore, behoves the members of the Samaj to remain firm in their faith. He who is "afraid to face the difficulties which the Samaj has now to contend with is not an Arya and follower of Swami Dayananda. Everyone expects an Arya to be fearless, ready to serve the people even at the risk of his life." The Aryas should stand erect with their heads held high.[108]

Why did the loyalist leaders behave the way they did? The answer to the query is not difficult to find. Barring one person—Lala Hans Raj—these leaders were 'either title holders or those who hope to receive some favour from the government.'[109] Hence this behaviour.[110] Lala Hans Raj was, however, not a man of worldly rank and wealth. He was neither a sycophant nor a flatterer. Nor was he a coward or a chicken-hearted fellow. A patriot to the core, he was a noble soul who, in the words of Lajpat Rai, led a life or simplicity, of unostentatious poverty, of unassuming renunciation, and of single-minded devotion—a life irreproachable in private character and unique in public service.[111] If there was any purpose of his life, it was the D.A.V. College of which he was the Principal. In fact, he lived for the institution and was prepared to die, too, for it, if that served the institution. As noted earlier the college was under a thick cloud and the talk of its closure by the government was prevalent everywhere. Lala Hans Raj went to the Lieutenant Governor not to seek favours or to please the powers that be but to save his institution.

From what has been noted above a pertinent question may follow : Were the apprehensions and fear of Lala Hans Raj real or imaginary? As noted earlier, the D.A.V. College was, from the beginning, a nursery of nationalist thinking. This fact could not remain hidden from the government for long. For instance, as early as 1895, to Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab it seemed to be an ideal institution where everyone was 'inspired by a strong enthusiasm,' but he suspected their 'tendency to be against government.'[112] By 1905-07, 'the situation became still worse'. According to the Lieutenant-Governor, the students of the Arya institutions played 'a significant part in the Punjab unrest of 1907.'[113] A large number of D.A.V. students were members of the *Bharat Mata Sabha,* a society organized by Ajit Singh, a product of the D.A.V. institutions. The society organized meetings and spread disaffection among the townsfolk and peasantry in the central districts of Punjab from March 1907 onwards. Mature ones among these students addressed meetings, too, along with leaders like Ajit Singh and Lajpat Rai. According to an intelligence report, a historic meeting held outside the Shahalami Gate, Lahore on 1 April under the auspices of the *Bharat Mata Sabha* was addressed by two students—Jaggan Nath and Mulkh Raj of the D.A.V. College. Jaggan Nath opened the meeting, saying :

> The English say that the students of India have become violent. They prevent us from expressing our thoughts. They do not realise that if we do not express our thought there will be (secret) societies and trouble like the French Revolution for which Government will repent afterwards.[114]

Lal Chand, another student, read a stirring poem entitled 'The love of India.'[115]

In another meeting held the same day at Lahore under the auspices of the *Anjuman-i-Muhibban-i-Watan,* Asa Nand, a student of the F.A. class of D.A.V. College, was the first speaker. Extremely agitated, he said : "Although we have no arms, we have shoes, and we must use them freely (to beat the Englishmen) when occasion arises . . . Are we not sons of Rana Partap, have we no spirit that we should submit to such *zulm*"?

He said much more, all filled with sedition, and then volunteered his services to the *Anjuman.* Ragho Nath Singh, another student of the same class, and a volunteer of the *Anjuman,* was the next speaker. He said : "Although Aurangzeb and Ranjit Singh were declared to be tyrants, yet they were far truer than the *Feringhis* who now rule India." He advised the government to immediately put an end to their tyrannies, otherwise secret societies would be formed and the *Feringhis* murdered. [116]

At Rawalpindi on 1 May 1907 the students expressed anger over the arrest of innocent lawyers and committed violence.[117] An illustration to show how deep was the nationalist dye on these boys and what exact feeling did they entertain at that time can be seen in the example of a 10 year old boy, Kishan Singh of the D.A.V. School Lahore, whose story has already been told.[118] As noted earlier. Ajit Singh, the famous revolutionary, likened this incident to the laying of "the foundation stone of the liberty of the Province."[119]

The students also wrote inspiring articles to rouse their countrymen. Out of hundreds of articles done by them, the following appearing in *The Arya Gazette* (Lahore) in its issue of 9 May 1907 may be cited to give an idea of their contents. Sham Lal Puri, a student of the D.A.V. College, Lahore wrote that the history of the world shows clearly enough that no country or religion could rise unless those engaged in the task were ready to sacrifice their lives in the cause. "Dear brothers," he added, "if we wish that our India also should become free like America it is necessary that we also should imbibe the spirit of sacrifice. The time will come—I cannot say whether ten or a hundred years hence, although I can say that it is bound to come—when we will be free (*lit.* will float in the stream of liberty). Readers, by sacrifice I mean that we should lead unselfish lives, consider it a duty to try to promote the welfare of the country by every means, and persevere in this till death." In conclusion, the writer requested the managers of national educational institutions, e g. the D.A.V. School and College, not to fail to introduce "such education" into those institutions and make them truly national.[120]

The students of the D.A.V. institutions expressed anger over the arrest of Lajpat and Ajit, and condemned their loyalist leaders. To save the situation getting out of hands, the colleeg

had to be closed. Police and army were deployed in the campus in large numbers. Four guns were kept ready loaded at the gate of the College. Other measures were also taken to overawe the students.[121]

Yet there was no let up in the enthusiasm of the teachers and students. Conversely, after the release of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, their patriotic zeal and nationalist fervour increased manifold. Naturally, the bureaucracy was alarmed and they called for Principal Hans Raj and warned him

> That the government had in the past put up with a lot from the Arya Samaj and that the limits of the forbearance were fast being reached. He (Lala Hans Raj) . . . and his Arya Samaj were sitting on a precipice and were in a dangerous condition and that they should mend their ways.[122]

About this very time, an impression was given by the powers that be that they were seriously thinking of disaffiliating and closing the D.A.V. College, Lahore. This seemed to have shaken Lala Hans Raj. He would have tolerated anything but not the death of his College which he had built by sacrificing everything that he had. His going in deputation to the Lieutenant-Governor along with other 'leaders' was thus a part of his strategy to save the college. The resignation of Lala Lajpat Rai from the governing body of the college and the dismissal of Bhai Parmanand from the staff of the college on his being charged with indulgence in seditious activities in 1910 were also steps in the same direction. "It was a bad sailor", Hans Raj used to say, "who did not port when he saw a storm brewing". He ported and saved his boat from capsizing in that severe storm.[123]

Thus the profession of loyalty and other measures adopted by Hans Raj at this moment to satisfy the government of the non-involvement of his staff and students in politics were in fact 'empty talks' and 'eye wash'. A proof of this lies in the fact that despite warnings of the Principal to the effect that students and teachers taking to politics would be dismissed, hardly anybody kept away from politics. Hans Raj was a highly respected, ideal principal whose wishes were carried out sacredly by one and all. Then nobody was punished for flouting his

orders.[124] Besides this, facts relating to Lajpat Rai and Bhai Parmanand give strength to the conclusion that Hans Raj's statements were not meant to be taken seriously—these were meant for the consumption of the authorities. No doubt the former was, as noted above, made to sever his connections with the management of the college, but he remained a *de facto* member of the management even after that. He was always consulted on important matters and his opinion always mattered a great deal. Secondly, the dismissal of Bhai Parmanand, Professor of History, too, was a sort of hoax to hoodwink the anthorities, for even after his dismissal Bhai Parmanand continued to receive his salary from the management.[125]

III

In sum, despite the best efforts of the Arya 'leadership' to show that they were not hostile towards the British government, the latter was not convinced of the correctness of their statement. The resolutions passed to this effect by some Samajas were not taken seriously by the powers that be. The Arya Samaj was taken to be a seditionist organisation whose real aim was to drive the British out of their country so that they could fulfil the aspirations of their master—Swami Dayananda Saraswati that 'India was for Indians'.

References

1. *The Tribune*, 8 June 1915. The account is furnished by 'an Arya' who is, we think, none else than Mahatma Munshi Ram (Later Swami Shraddhananda).
2. Munshi Ram and Ramadeva, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
3. Quoted in Sands, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
4. Munshi Ram and Ramadeva, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

To give an idea as to how the orthodox Hindus incited the government against the Aryas, the following report of an orthodox paper of Lahore brought to the notice of the government of India may be of interest :

> The *Sanatan Dharm Gazette* (Lahore), of the 31st December 1900, publishes a communication in which the writer alleges that Arya literature, not only contains insulting references to non-Arya religions, but is also full of seditious passages. As an

instance in point, he states that the following occurs on page 274 of the *Arya Abhivinai* (5th edition), which is a collection of Arya prayers :—

"O God, may our country never be under the rule of a foreign king! May we never own allegiance to any one; and may we ourselves rule over all foreign countries!"

Again, the passages cited below are to be found in the 4th edition of the *Satyartha*

Page 284—"Our own country cannot advance unless we rule over foreign countries and islands. Only humiliation and pain can fall to our lot if we (merely) trade in our country, but foreigners govern, as well as carry on trade in it. "Disunion is the cause of India being under foreign rule. When brothers quarrel among themselves, it is only then that a third party comes from abroad and becomes the arbiter of their destinies. May God banish this political evil from among the Aryas!"

Page 281—"Ignorant people consider it a sin even to touch and see foreigners, and cannot, therefore, fight against the latter, whom they cannot help seeing and touching in the course of the struggle.

"When a ruler has a large army he becomes proud. This leads to the rise of small communities which inflict defeat on him in the end, just as, by opposing the Muhammadan rule, Sivaji and Gobind Singh made it a thing of the past."

Page 268—"The sufferings of the Aryas have been on the increase since the advent of foreigners, who eat flesh, kill cows, & c., and drink wine, to rule over the country."

After remarking that page 288 of the same book contains a passage to the effect that aliens cannot bring complete comfort to a nation, however wise and just their rule may be, the correspondent says that all the above quotations refer to British rule in India, and calls upon Government to take prompt and severe notice of the same." Vide selections from Native newspapers, Punjab, 1900, p. 26.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17. The resolution passed in Urdu read as under :

"चिट्ठी सेक्रिटरी नैशनल लीग वास्ते देने मेमोरियल व हज़ूर नव्वाब गवर्नर जनरल व वाइसराय हिन्द बिनाबर भेजने प्रतिनिधियों के कौन्सिल गवर्नर जेनरल हिन्द में पेश हुई चूंकि यह मुआमेला पुलिटिकल है और पुलिटिकल मुआमेलात में दख़ल देना अग़राज़ समाज से बाहिर है इसलिए इत्तफ़ाकराय से तजवीज़ हुआ कि ब-जवाब चिट्ठी सेक्रिटरी नैशनल लीग को लिखा जावे कि यह समाज इस मुआमिले में कुछ कार-वाई नहीं कर सकती ।"

7. Sands, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
8. Munshi Ram has portrayed them in his book.
9. Munshi Ram and Ramadeva, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

10. Quoted in Lajpat Rai, *A History*, p. 167.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. Home Public, Deposit, No. 13, April 1904.
14. Home Political B, Nos. 53-58, July 1911.
15. For details see Chapters 3 and 5.
16. See *ibid.*
17. For details see Chapter 3.
18. Even as early as 1892, the D.A.V. institutions had become suspect in the eyes of the British bureaucracy. Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, the lieutenant governor of Punjab in that year, for instance, believed that those who worked in them 'were inspired by a strong enthusiasm'. But he suspected their tendency to be against government' vide Home Political B, Nos. 53-58, July 1911.
19. N.G. Barrier, 'The Punjab disturbances of 1907. . .' *Punjab Past and Present*, Vol. VIII-II, No. 16 (1974), pp. 444-509.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. The Act was passed after great discussion by the Punjab Legislative Council on 1 February 1907.
28. Mary Minto, *India : Minto and Morley*, p. 126.
29. The *Panjabee*, 11 May 1907.
30. The *Punjab Administration Report*, 1907-8, p. III.
31. The names of the persons who bore financial responsibility to the extent of Rs. 1,000 each were :—R.B. Lala Lal Chand, M.A., Lala Ishwar Das, M.A, Lala Hans Raj Sawhney of Rawalpindi, LalaGurdas Ram Sawhney, Bar-at-Law, Rawalpindi, Seth Chuhar Lal, Abbottabad, Lala Kanshi Ram, Vakil, Ferozepur, Bakshi Tek Chand, M.A., and Lala Lajpat Rai. Of these Lala Gurdas Ram paid. Rs. 1,000 and Seth Chuhr Lal Rs. 500. Both these amounts were refunded within the first year. Nobody else was ever called upon to pay a single pie, says Lajpat Rai. For details see his *Autobiographical Writings*, p. 232.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 232.
35. *The Panjabee*, 11 February 1906.
36. Shri Ram Sharma, *The Punjab in Ferment*, pp. 47-48.
37. Lajpat Rai, *loc. cit.*, p. 116.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *The Civil and Military Gazette*, 24 April 1907.

41. Lajpat Rai, *loc. cit.*, p. 128.
42. *India* (Gujranwala), 18 April 1907 vide *SNN Punjab*, 1907, p. 114. The boy was tried but acquitted. See Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
43. The account is based on Ganda Singh (Ed.), *History of Freedom Movement in Punjab*, Vol. IV, pp. 33-37.
44. In the words of Ajit Singh himself : "One of my forefathers seeing that the foreigners after the death of Ranjit Singh, Maharaja of the Punjab, . . . resolved to take up arms for repelling British intruders. He. . . took valiant part in the famous battles at Mudki, Aliwal and Subraon. As a result, . . . the *jaghis* held by our family got reduced. . . Sardar Fateh Singh, my dear grandfather, . . . refused to fight the troops (in 1857) that wanted to make India free. Ajit Singh, *Buried Alive* (Autobiography), p. 25.
45. The great martyr, son of Kishan Singh.
46. Ajit Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.
47. For details see *ibid.*, pp. 29-30.
48. *Ibid.*
49. Ajit Singh, *op. cit.*
50. The full text of the song was as follows :

पगड़ी संभाल जट्टा, पगड़ी संभाल ओए !
लुट्ट लिआ माल तेरा, हालों बेहाल ओए !

फसलां नूं खा गये कीड़े,
तन ते नहीं तेरे लीड़े,
भुक्खाँ ने खूब नपेड़े,
रोन्दे ने बाल ओए !

पगड़ी संभाल जट्टा, पगड़ी संभाल ओए !

हिन्द है मन्दिर तेरा
इस दा पुजारी तूँ
कद तक झल्लेंगा तूँ
एहदी ख्वारी नूं,
लड़न ते मरन दी
कर ले तैयारी तूँ

पगड़ी संभाल जट्टा, पगड़ी संभाल ओए !

(O brother peasant, take care of your turban!
O, take care of your turban!
Insects have devoured your crops;
There are no rags even on your body;
Hunger has sucked you while;
Your children cry for bread oh!

O Brother peasant, take care of your turban!
O, take care of your tuban!
India is your temple,
And you are her priest
How long will you brook these insults?
Be prepared for a battle of death,
O Brother peasant, take care of your turban!
O, take care of your turban!)

51. *The Panjabee*, 27 March 1907. Ajit Singh has given an interesting account of Lalaji's address : Lalaji at first "started in restraint but seeing the public enthusiasm, he made one of his finest speeches, full of eloquence and spirit." Ajit Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
52. Quoted in Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
53. For details of the meeting see *ibid.*, pp. 77-78.
54. Ajit Singh, *loc. cit.*, pp. 176-78.
55. Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.
56. Quoted in Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-41.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
58. *Ibid* , p. 142.
59. Special Magistrate, A.B. Martinau's orders, dated 1 October 1907 vide Ganda Singh, *loc. cit.*, pp. 138-54.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-44. This is slightly different from the telegram that appeared in *The Panjabee* that very evening and which gave a more accurate version of what actually happened. This write-up was most probably provided by Lajpat Rai himself :

    'After the District Magistrate's postponing the enquiry, it was announced at the earnest request of the crowd that Lala Lajpat Rai will address a meeting at the Carnac Ganj in the evening. At about one hour before the time fixed, the District Magistrate with the Superintendent of Police came and sat at the Police Station and proclaimed an order declaring the proposed meeting unlawful. At about 5-30 when Lala Hans Raj Sawhney, Lala Gurdas Ram, Lala Hans Raj Bhandari and others in company with the lecturer were going to the place of the meeting, they were intercepted on the way by orders of the Deputy Commissioner who wanted to see them stop. The District Magistrate asked who Lala Lajpat Rai was and upon the latter presenting himself, he said, 'I as District Magistrate have forbidden the meeting, distributed buckshots to the Police, got out the cavalry, and my instructions are that if attempt is made to hold the meeting, the police should fire. I, therefore, order that you should quickly go home and hold no meeting'. Addressing Lala Hans Rai he said, "I hope you are satisfied with to-day's work; this is a direct result of yesterday's meeting and the one held before, which I call seditious. I think today's meeting is also likely to be seditious. I have, therefore, forbidden it and

declare it unlawful. In case of serious consequences I hold you, Lala Amolak Ram, the Secretary, and (pointing towards Lala Gurdas Ram), you, and (pointing out towards Lala Lajpat Rai) you also, responsible. You understand that?' Upon which, Mr. Tomkins, District Superintendent Police, advanced further and addressing Lala Lajpat Rai said 'You should understand that you will be responsible.' Upon which the latter replied 'I know my responsibility, knowing as I do a bit of the law, and I have heard the orders.' The District Magistrate repeated what he said before saying that this evening's meeting was likely to be seditious, to which Lala Lajpat Rai replied 'I object to these remarks. I have heard the orders.' The District Magistrate said 'I know your object. I have given my orders and you better clear out.' To this Lala Lajpat Rai replied 'I have not come here of my own accord. I have been sent for by you'. The party then returned and explained the order of District Magistrate to the people assembled."

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibid.*, Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 220-21, 237.

The following 68 persons were taken in custody for these offences :

1. Lala Amolak Ram, Pleader, Rawalpindi.
2. Lala Hans Raj Sawhny, Pleader, Rawalpindi.
3. Mr. Gurdas Ram Sawhny, Bar-at-Law, Rawalpindi.
4. Mr. Khazan Singh, Bar-at-Law, Rawalpindi.
5. Mr. Janki Nath Kaul, Bar-at-Law, Rawalpindi.
6. Uttam Chand, son of Sadh Ram of Rawalpindi.
7. Narsing Das of Rawalpindi.
8. Mangal Sain alias Tunda of Rawalpindi.
9. Gurdit Singh, son of Sundar Singh of Rawalpindi.
10. Bodh Rai, son of Ram Das of Saidpur.
11. Jagat Singh, son of Bur Singh of Poonch State.
12. Kashi Ram, son of Harbhagwan of Rawalpindi.
13. Subha Singh, son of Hira Nand of Rawalpindi.
14. Allah Bakhsh, son of Allah Ditta of Sialkot.
15. Nathoo, son of Hakoo of Sialkot.
16. Daulat Ram, son of Ram Jewaya Mal of Rawalpindi.
17. Prema Shah, son of Dayala Shah of Rawalpindi.
18. Dipa Shah, son of Sohna Shah of Rawalpindi.
19. Jiwa Shah, son of Nihala Shah of Rawalpindi.
20. Lakhu Shah, son of Khiala Shah of Rawalpindi.
21. Teja Shah, son of Khiala Shgh of Rawalpindi.
22. Khiala Shah son of Kala Shah of Rawalpindi.
23. Sita Ram, son of Devi Ditta of Rawalpindi.
24. Nand Lal, son of Devi Dyal of Rawalpindi.
25. Sheo Ram Munshi son of Lala Hans Raj of Rawalpindi.
26. Lakh Singh, son of Nihal Singh of Daryala Saighanan.

27. Nanak Singh, son of Ishar Singh of Sukhoo.
28. Chet Ram, son of Fakir Chand of Choha Khalsa.
29. Shankar Das, son of Lakhi Ram of Rawalpindi.
30. Kirpa Ram, son of Hari Chand of Rawalpindi.
31. Thakur Das, son of Ditta Mal of Rawalpindi.
32. Harnam Singh, son of Aya Singh of Rawalpindi.
33. Jai Singh of Rawalpindi.
34. Uttam Singh, son of Thakur Singh of Rawalpindi.
35. Hira Nand, son of Kirpa Ram of Rawalpindi.
36. Dharma, son of Jai Mal of Rawalpindi.
37. Fakir Singh, son of Hari Singh of Rawalpindi.
38. Bhagat Amir Chand, son of Guddoo Mal of Rawalpinidi.
39. Gokal Chand, son of Gulab Rai of Rawalpindi.
40. Girdhari Mal, son of Tegha Mal of Rawalpindi.
41. Hukma alias Niam Shah of Rawalpindi.
42. Gopal Dass, son of Prabh Dial of Rawalpindi.
43. Mathra Das, son of Sundar Das of Rawalpindi.
44. Khazan Singh, son of Jagat Singh of Dhamial.
45. Gobind Sahai, son of Parma Mal of Rawalpindi.
46. Dheroo, son of Hira Singh of Rawalpindi.
47. Fakira, son of Boga of Rawalpindi.
48. Ladha, son of Maya Das of Rawalpindi.
49. Rawel, son of Ram Chand of Rawalpindi.
50. Mangal Singh, son of Jawahir Singh of Rawalpindi.
51. Kishan Singh, son of Attar Singh of Rawalpindi.
52. Sundar Singh, son of Mehar Singh Rawalpindi.
53. Gulam Mohd., son of Amir Bakhsh of Rawalpindi.
54. Anant Ram, son of Lachhman Dass of Rawalpindi.
55. Khadam, son of Mahandu of Sorian.
56. Dina Nath, son of Ram Dass of Rawalpindi.
57. Thakar Das, son of Amrit Rai of Akrala.
58. Lala Mansa Ram, Pleader of Rawalpindi.
59. Moti Ram alias Moti Lal of Rawalpindi.
60. Sukhladha Ram alias Shauk Chand of Rawalpindi.
61. Gopi Chand, son of Mohkam Chand of Rawalpindi.
62. Mauna Shah, son of Thola Shah, of Rawalpindi, absconder.
63. Dittu Shah, son of Nihala Shah, of Rawalpindi, absconder.
64. Doda Shah, son of Deva Shah of Rawalpindi.
65. Bakhshi Dina Nath, son of B. Ditta, tailor of Rawalpindi.
66. Bal Mukand, son of Prabh Dial of Rawaldindi, absconder.
67. Nanak Singh, Agent of Kashi Ram of Rawalpindi.
68. Surjan, son of Bishan of Kunjah, at present of Rawalpindi.

66. *Ibid.*
67. See the judge, Mr. F.A. Robertson' s orders, dated 16 January, 1908, vide Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-61.
68. R.I. stand for rigorous imprisonment.
69. Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-61.

70. See Part II of the growth regarding his biographical details.
71. See Home Political-A, No, 3, July 1903.
72. This was written by Babu Balmukand Gupta.
73. Home Political-A, Nos. 178-80, July 1907.
74. *Ibid.*, No. 3, July 1910.
75. Sir, Denzil Ibbetson's minute on Punjab situation, 30 April 1907, vide Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-40.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid.*
79. Viceroy to Secretary of State for India, No. 150-A, 8 May 1907.
80. *Ibid.*
81. *Ibid.*
82. Home Political-A, Nos 148-235, August 1907.
83. *Ibid.*
84. Lajpat Rai, *Story of My Deportation*, pp. XVII-XVIII.
85. Lajpat reached there on 16 May 1907.
86. For details see S.S. Koss. *John Morley at the India Office*, pp. 76-100.
87. Reproduced in *The Panjabee*, 3 August 1907.
88. *Bharatmitra*, 1907, In *Balmukund Gupta Granthavali* Vol. I, pp. 642-43. The Panjabee launched a severe attack on the loyalist elements, especially the 41 Hindu gentlemen who had issued a signed statement expressing their loyalty to the government. In its issue of 15 June, it carried a satirical comment on the whole episode which is being reproduced here in full, for its humorous bite :

THE HINDU LEADERS' DEED OF RECONCILIATION

An Intercepted Document
(Picked up by the Man in the Street)

"May it Please Yor Honour,—

"We the Leading Hindu Lights of Lahore and elsewhere hereby beg to approach Your Honour and offer to bind ourselves for ever as Your Honour's most dutiful and deportation-fearing subjects. We do so unasked by anybody, of our own accord in the interest of our countrymen, impelled by our admiration of the excellence of the *personnel* of Your Honour's Aministration. who have in less than ten weeks turned Lahore upside down and converted all Rawalpindi into a Jail. Words, fail us to express our hearty recognition of their 'beneficent intentions' under whose genial auspices Lajpat Rai is now chewing the cud of repentance at Mandalay, and Hans Raj and company are having a taste of purgatory even before they have shuffled off the mortal coil.

"Hitherto we have been walking astray because the old fogies who gave us birth neglected our education. They set us to schools where our heads were stuffed with Burke and Bentham, Macaulay and Mill, and our moral and religious welfare was not looked

after. Of late, however, we have been informed by religious teachers that according to the Hindu Shastras, Government is the symbol of Divinity and every official an incarnation of the God, that can never do wrong. If he smites us he smites for our good, and if he kicks us it is to give us a chance of earning virtue by furnishing stimulating exercise to his tired and blessed nether limbs. Henceforth, therefore, it shall be our duty to teach our misguided countrymen not only to swear fealty to the British Raj in the abstract, but to admire the virtues of the *personnel* of every Administration. And if even a Lieutenant-Governor shall swear as hard as he smokes, and a Deputy Commissioner curse as thick as the dust he raises by his motor-car, we shall receive the imprecations as blessings upon our bare heads, standing bare-footed all the while.

"Of course, as enlightened subjects of a civilised Government, it shall be our privilege to exercise the right of criticism upon individual acts, legislative and administrative, but it shall be done with reservations and qualifications so as only to redound to the glory of the Administration, and always subject to correction as the result of 'misapprehension.' What better proof can be required of our competence in this regard than that we accord freely and without reservation full credit to the Government for the 'prompt and generous manner' in which its *personnel* have dealt with the increased Canal rates and the Colonization of Land Act? We have not cared even to whisper a word about the weary and once forlorn agitation some of us carried on against the same measures, or the disagreeable things that happened in the (pretty long) interval between their passing and withdrawal. Rather have we not expressed our horror of all agitation tending to promote sedition, disloyalty, and disorder?

"And if it shall so please Your Honour, the aforesaid right of free criticism may be exercised under beneficent official control, through the medium of our Monitor of the Upper Mall and our Interpreter of the Lower Mall, who have so unselfishly volunteered their services in bringing about this restoration of good feeling, and both of whom are such whole-hearted friends to the Hindu community in general, and to that considerable section amongst us, the Aryas, in particular.

"May it please Your Honour, therefore, to accept this our offer of humiliation and grant us an interview so that we may completely demonstrate our loyalty! A trip to Simla would not be an unpleasant thing in June or July, and there will be glory associated with it when it shall be undertaken for the good of our countrymen. Your Honour need not be afraid that we shall make unseemly representations or prefer inconvenient requests. It matters not if none of our prayers can be granted, or if no action deemed possible to satisfy the people who are restive and restless under the

repressive measures. They have yet to understand, as we shall take pains to teach them, that these measures are meant for their ultimate good. Only 'a sympathetic ear', inclined towards us by even the fraction of an inch, will pay us for the expenses and trouble of our journey. As to the rest, we are satisfied, as we have already assured Your Honour, and are telling our countrymen, that everything is going on as excellently as might be expected under the *personnel* of an Administration animated with beneficent intentions towards the people. Just to humour the ignorant, however, we have given them to understand that if only they keep quiet and behave themselves well, they will have the right of public meetings restored, so that they may meet and bear testimony to the beneficent intentions of the D.C. and the D.S.P. in importing larger and larger drafts of the police, and exercise the right of free criticism under the convenient safeguard of 'misapprehension.'

"Some fellows are raising awkward questions about Lajpat Rai and the Rawalpindi lawyers, no doubt. We are perfectly sure, however, and so can assure our foolish countrymen, that Lajpat Rai is enjoying himself at Government expense at Mandalay, and that Dr. Hendley is quite right in stating that Amolak Ram has actually improved in health since coming to jail; while, considering their anxieties and the trouble of attending Court daily, it quite stands to reason that Hans Raj and the rest are more comfortable in the lock-up under the Doctor's care and supervision than they would be among their illiterate womenfolk at home, who would pester the feeble life out of them by their constant weeping and lamentation.

"And, finally, we beg to assure Your Honour that under Your Honour's benign smile of favour, not only shall we ourselves behave well in relation to the Government, but we shall live on good terms with members of other communities with whom we have had to be now and then more or less at loggerheads. For instance, the Sikh and the Mussalman shall henceforth live together like the proverbial lion and the lamb, while Hindu and Muhammadan shall embrace each other after the fashion of Afzal Khan and Sivaji. For one community alone we are not in a position to offer sufficient guarantee, and with regard to them a separate Note is attached, which is signed by all of us excepting the members of the said community.

"Note.—The community above referred to are the Aryas, who have a nasty habit of pin-pricking their neighbours, and are naturally pin-pricked in turn. They form an element in the society for whose peaceful relations with others we cannot vouch. But they may be safely left to be looked after by our friends the Monitor and the Interpreter. Indeed, these two benefactors of ours have already taken note of their conduct in having immediately after signing the above deed, and contributing to swell our

numbers, issued a separate document of theirs expressing sympathy with people whom the Government hold in disfavour. Indeed, they have had the audacity in the said document to invoke the blessing of God upon the Rawalpindi lawyers in troube; in doing which they have not only violated the law and been guilty of 'contempt of court' by venturing an opinion in favour of the accused, but have clearly proved, to the satisfaction of our friend the Monitor, that they are no religious body as they pretend to be, otherwise why should they have taken the name of God in vain? They are a body, therefore, on whom the eyes of Government have to be kept, but in order to relieve Your Honour's Administration of the trouble we have ventured to suggest that they may safely be left under the watch and supervision of the Monitor of the Upper Mall and the Interpreter of the Lower Mall; both of these gentlemen we beg to recommend to Your Honour as fit to occupy the post of Keeper of Conscience of the Hindu community.

"And Your Honour's Humble and Obedient Servants as in duty bound shall ever pray, & c, & c.''

PUNJAB HARIKARI"

The Panjabee, 15 June 1907.

89. After his release, both Minto and Morley expressed regrets for having deported Lajpat Rai.
90. *Prakash*, 18 November 1907, vide *SNN*, *Panjab*, 1907, p. 482.
91. *Jhang Sial*, 16 November 1907, vide *ibid.*, p. 480.
92. See the *SNN*, *Punjab*, 1907.
93. *Ibid.*
94. For details see K.C. Yadav, 'Role of the D.A.V. Institutions in the Freedom Struggle, 1886-1947', D.A.V. Analyst Vol. 1, No. 2, 1987.
95. For details see *SNN*, *Panjab*, 1907.
96. *Ibid.*
97. Commenting on this, the *Paisa Akbar* (Lahore) wrote in its issue of 3 June 1907 :

    The Arya Pratinidhi Sabha has displayed great foresight in adopting and publishing a resolution to the effect that the Arya Samaj has no concern with politics. Government will perhaps like the Sabha to do something practical in proof of the sincerity of its professions. It is, besides, doubtful whether Government will believe the leaders of the Samaj, seeing that the head of the province has been told by all the Deputy Commissioners under him that the Aryas have been carrying on an objectionable political propaganda everywhere. It therefore appears advisable that those Aryas who love to take part in politics should separate themselves from the rest of their co-religionists, and thereby clear the position of the Samaj.

    vide *SNN*, *Punjab*, 1907, p. 221.

98. Durga Das was severely criticised for this offer by Arya Samajists and none agreed to take any such oath.
99. *The Tribune*, 28 May 1907.
100. The *Hitkari* (Lahore) wrote, for instance, that 'the deputation was appointed neither by Local Samajas nor by the Provincial *Pratinidhi Sabha* (Society of the representatives of Arya Samajas in the Punjab), and that it did not therefore represent the Aryas'. Vide *SNN Punjabi*, 1907, p. 267.
101. Home Political-B, Nos. 53-58, July 1911.
102. Vide *Satddharma Pracharaka*, 2 November 1907 vide *SNN, Panjab*, 1907, p. 549.
103. Home Political-B, Nos. 7-10, December 1910.
104. "R.B. Bakshi Sohan Lal, President, Arya Samaj (Anarkali) Lahore asks us to announce that L. Lajpat Rai has resigned his membership in the D.A.V. College Managing Committee in the *Antrang Sabha* of the Arya Samaj and in the *Arya Pratinidhi Sabha* of the Arya Samaj, and that this resignations have been accepted". *The Tribune*, 16 January 1910.
105. *Aftab*, 9 June, vide *SNN Panjab*, 1907, p. 266.
106. Munshi Ram and Ramadeva, *op. cit.*, part II, pp. 102, 104-5.

    At another place he observed :

    "Now what is the duty of the Arya Samaj at this hour? Some people think that our duty consists in sending up memorials and representations to the powers that be. But I say, no. That is not our duty. I know that we are not seditionists. Every Arya Samajist knows that he is not a seditionist. If some of you think that our duty demands that we should wait in deputation upon officials and boast about our loyalty, I say openly that I will join no such deputation. . , Our hearts are guileless, and our hands are clean. It is an insult to the Samaj to demand that its representatives should stand before their temporal rulers with folded hands and say with bated breath "verily, we are loyal." The Arya Samaj need not present memorials and send up petitions." *Ibid.*, p. 116.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
108. Quoted in the *Arya Gazettee*, 25 July 1907.
109. See *Jhang Sial*, 7 December 1907, vide *SNN*, *Panjab*, 1907, p. 579.
110. Munshi Ram and Ramadeva, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 80.
111. K.C. Yadav, 'Role of the D.A.V. Instituations in the Freedom Struggle 1886-1947,' in *op. cit.*
112. Quoted in Home Political-B, Nos. 53-58, July 1911.
113. *The Civil and Military Gazettee* 10 July 1907. Also see K.C. Yadav, 'Role of the D.A.V. Institutions in the Freedom Struggle', *op. cit.*,
114 Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, pp, 14-15.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
116. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

117. The Punjab authorities, as mentioned elsewhere, reported that the violence of 1st May at Pindi was effected by the students, most of whom belonged to the Arya Institutions.
118. See f. n. 42.
119. *Hindustan* (Lahore) 3 May 1907, vide *SNN Panjab*, 1907, p. 143.
120. *Arya Gazette*, 9 May 1907 *vide S.N.N. Panjab*, 1907, p. 219.
121. *Aftab*, . . . vide *Ibid.*
122. Home Political—A, Nos. 120-27, February 1910.
123. See K.C. Yadav, 'The Role of the D.A.V. Institutions in the Freedom Struggle,' *op. cit.*
124. *Ibid.*
125. Home Political, No. 37, March 1915.

CHAPTER 5

Persecution of Arya Samaj 1875-1918

I

We have seen in the preceding chapter how Arya Samaj became a suspect in the eyes of the government and how it suffered persecution in Punjab, especially in 1905-7. The local governments in other provinces also followed this very policy vis-a-vis Arya Samaj. And so did most of the princely states. As a result, thousands of Arya Samajists suffered in one way or the other at the hands of the powers that be.

II

Arya Samaj, as stated earlier, was considered 'a highly dangerous' society by the army authorities. In consequence, the army authorities took various measures 'to eradicate the evil from the ranks' of the forces.

For instance, an order was circulated in 1905 in all regiments forbidding Aryas 'to enter the precincts of regimental barracks'. Mahatma Munshi Ram sent a forceful protest against this order to the commander-in-chief of the army.[1]

The protest had no effect however. The regimental precincts remained out of bounds for Aryas.

In 1906, the commanding officer of the 123rd Rifles approached the army headquarters with a proposal that the only way to deal with the seditionist Aryas was to stop the enlistment of Arya Samajists in the Army. A careful examination of the

problem on the part of the authorities convinced them, however, that not enough grounds were there to justify such an extreme action.[2] It was, however, emphasised that the British officers must watch the 'effects of the teachings of the Arya Samaj on their men'.[3] As a result, the Aryas began to be treated as 'criminals to be watched.'

In May 1909 the Criminal Intelligence Department reported that efforts by the various Arya Samajas 'were being directed towards securing the attendance of Native Officers and men of the Native Army at all their meetings in places where troops were stationed'. The commanding officers were warned 'to be on their guard and prevent their men from attending such meetings'.[4]

In July 1909, a subedar of the 126th Rifles at Bangalore was forced to obtain premature retirement 'on account of the fact that he was an avowed Arya'.[5]

In August 1909 a report was received that a Jat sepoy of the 94th Russell's Infantry at Baroda was an active member of the Arya Samaj. He was harassed a great deal—so much so that the man had to take his discharge.[6]

One Gulab Chand, a clerk in the 35th Sikh Regiment, was an honest man who did his work conscientiously. His superior officers always commended this good trait of his character. But unfortunately someone reported that Gulab Chand was an Arya and there the trouble started. To begin with, he was harassed. Even such trivial benefits and privileges as seeking short leave were denied to him. He went to the commanding officer with a petition. For 'this offence he was sent to the *hajut* for three days'. On release, he was questioned by the officer if he was an Arya Samajist. The reply being in the affirmative, his services were dispensed with.[7]

There is yet another case of this very type. There was an Arya hospital assistant, first class, in a regiment. When his commanding officer came to know of the fact that he was an Arya, he was all rage and asked the assistant to leave the Samaj forthwith. The assistant did not however yield to such a pressure and chose to resign his job instead.[8]

Some Army officials seemed to have completely lost their balance of mind at this time. To them every person who took up a bold attitude or displayed independence appeared to be

an Arya Samajist. A young lieutenant in a regiment started a controversy with his *jamadar* who was a Muslim and was worsted. To satisfy his pique, he reported his conduct to the officer commanding. The colonel who 'was as great a wiseacre as his doughty lieutenant, summoned the *Jamadar* to his presence and said : "Well ! *Badmash* Arya Samajist, why did you speak rudely to the *sahib*"? "I am a Mussalman Sir"! replied the *jamadar*. The colonel did not cool down and retorted : "Well then! You are a Mussalman Arya Samajist". The poor fellow suffered reprimand for 'being an Arya Samajist'.[9]

The commanding officer of the 10th Jat which had a large number of Aryas in its ranks harassed these men. He forbade the wearing of the sacred thread. Many people obliged their officer. But there were others who were made of stronger fibre—at least twelve persons did not yield. As a result, Naik Jot Ram, the most vocal of the whole lot, was court-martialled for insubordination and sent to jail. Ram Gopal, ward orderly, was discharged from service, and ten others 'were suitably punished'.[10]

As discussed elsewhere, this very regiment 'gave a lot of trouble' to the authorities in 1909-10 when it was stationed in Calcutta. Many of its Arya soldiers joined hands with the Bengal revolutionaries there. Unfortunately, however, before they could do anything significant one of the Bengal revolutionaries, Lalit Mohan Chakravarty, betrayed their cause. He became an approver and gave all the details. As a result, Arya activists of the 10th Jat—Havildar Chuni Lal, Sepoy Surjan Singh and their compatriots were arrested (12 January 1910). The heavy hand of law came on 'the guilty'. By the order of the Commander-in-Chief, Hav. Chuni Lal and Sepoy Surjan Singh were dealt with summarily (summary court-martial under the Indian Articles of War) and were sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for one year and discharged from service. Besides them, 23 non-commissioned officers and other ranks out of 145 were summarily dismissed. Lt. Col. Pressey, the commanding officer of the regiment, was sent on forced retirement for his negligent behaviour. The subedar-major was also sent on pension. All the subedars, i.e. company commanders, were summarily discharged from service with such pensions or gratuities

to which they were entitled. The recruitment of the 10th Jat was confined 'to Jats enlisted under the recruiting officer for Rajputana and central India with a view to introducing other classes than those which have lately shown signs of disaffection'.[11]

Arya Samaj became a byword for sedition now insofar as Army was concerned. The commander-in-chief wrote a very strong note (22 March 1910) to the Army Department recommending that notification imposing blanket ban on the recruitment of Arya Samajists in the Army be issued. The pros and cons of the problem were taken serious note of by the authorities and eventually it was decided that Arya Samajists who were hitherto recruited in the class regiments be denied this opportunity in future.[12]

Thus the enlistment of Arya Samajists was forbidden in the Army. This practice continued all through the period under study. No relaxation was made even during the First World War, 1914-18, when they were in dire need of recruits.

III

There was a lot of harassment and persecution in the civil sphere too. In district Abbottabad, Punjab, the Samaj came under very heavy fire of the local government despite the fact that the Samaj, in the words of *The Tribune*, "has done and is doing a deal of solid good work for which it deserves well of the government and the people". It had established a charitable institute, an excellent girls' school, and an unsectarian high school with a boarding-house attached. Nevertheless, the local officials right from divisional commissioner to the lowest officials showed 'open hostility, bordering on malignant hatred towards the Samaj'.[13] F.D. Cunninghan, the deputy commissioner, for instance, openly announced in the presence of his establishment that 'the Arya Samajists will not be enlisted to or promoted in the government offices under his charge'.[14]

A few cases to illustrate the point may be of interest :[15]

(1) Lala Kesho Mal, an Arya Samajist, was an officiating tehsildar at Abbottabad. He was a very conscientious officer. Cunninghan wrote the following remarks in

his character roll: "He has ability and energy and would work better if he were not a partisan and moving spirit in a body called by the name of Arya Samaj". The man was demoralized to such an extent that he gave up the membership of the Samaj.

(2) There was one Rup Lal, a clerk in the D.C. Office. He was confirmed only when he gave an assurance in writing that he had severed all connections with the Samaj.

(3) The post of headmaster fell vacant in the Municipal Board High School, Abbottabad. Lala Milkhi Ram was the second man in the seniority who should have been promoted. But he was not, for Cunninghan said, he was an Arya Samajist.

(4) Harnam Dass, officiating superintendent of Vernacular Office, who was at one time secretary of the Samaj was harassed to such an extent that he not only left the Samaj but also left a warning for his dependents not to be a member of the society.

(5) Garib Dass, a teacher in the government school was dismissed for being an Arya activist.

(6) Seth Chuhar Mal was the president of the Arya Samaj, Abbottabad. He was an army contractor. Once Cunningham noticed him with Major Vansittart, Commanding 1/5 Gurkha Rifles, and observed :

"This gentleman is the President of the Aryan republic, and seditious petitions were sent under his signature which were very objectionable. You Gurkha Officers do not know him and his surroundings. He may be personally polite to you. That case against the Gurkha Officer was all got up by this man. They have a school here, which teaches that they ought not to salam to any officer".

The warning had the desired effect. Chuhar Mal was placed in a tight corner, so much so that he had to quit his job 'to save himself from disgrace'.

(7) A site was granted for the new building for the Albert Victor Memorial Anglo-Sanskrit High School (managed by the Samaj). When the building came up the order was cancelled and the building demolished.

(8) Even small children of the Samajists were not spared. In Summer, 1899, the children of the infant class of the local Victor School were reading in the open outside the building. The Commissioner happened to pass by without being recognised by the little ones and their teacher. Their failure to salaam him so put him out that he harangued the bewildered pedagogue and the little lads in a strange attitude on the high road . . . in abusive and scandalous terms in the presence of people assembled from all parts of the district.

A representation was submitted to the then Viceroy, Lord Curzon, by the executive committee of the Samaj but to no avail.[16]

Arya Samaj was very popular in Haryana, especially in District Rohtak. This was not relished by the authrorities who did their best to destroy it.

For example, on 7 June 1910, some person, posing as a government man, proclaimed in Rohtak by the beat of drum that all the books of Arya Samaj had been confiscated by the government. This caused great stir in the Arya circles in the city and the surrounding area where the Samaj was in quite a formidable position. Nyadar Singh, president of the Rohtak Arya Samaj brought the facts of the case to the notice of the deputy commissioner, Rohtak and solicited action against the 'culprit'. Wrote Nyadar Singh :

> Sir : Most respectfully I beg to bring to your kind notice the following facts hoping you will take proper action. On the 7th instant it was proclaimed by the beat of drum that all the books belonging to the religion of the Arya Samaj have been forfeited and confiscated to His Majesty. So far as I am informed no such order has been issued by the Government and I am afraid the enemies of the Arya Samaj have done this mischief misrepresenting the Government notifications proscribing certain newspapers and periodicals having no connection with the Arya Samaj. Such a proclamation is likely to bring the Arya Samaj into hatred and lead the people to think the Government considers the Arya Samaj as a seditious body. Such a feeling may involve the Arya

Samaj into serious difficulties and may give rise to various criminal proceedings. Therefore it is our most earnest request that if there is in fact any such order of the Government as has been proclaimed you may kindly issue directions as to what should be done with the books contained in the Library of the Arya Samaj here and if there is no such order of the Government as has been proclaimed the former proclamation be contradicted by a counter-proclamation and the mischiefmonger who has caused that proclamation to be made without the order of the Government be properly punished. Such an action will give great satisfaction to a class which is carrying on its mission in the most peaceful manner.

Dated Rohtak
June 13, 1910

The deputy commissioner gave the following reply to the letter :

To : Lala Nyadar Singh,
President, Arya Samaj, Rohtak
Dated June 13, 1910

Sir : In reply to your letter No. 6404, 13th instant, I have the honour to state that I am unaware of the existence of any Government order forfeiting all Arya books to His Majesty, and have not authorized proclamation of that nature.

Reacting sharply to the reply, the *Vedic Magazine* observed that the document was "pre-eminently unsympathetic, and also gracelessly brief, remarkably formal, studiously constrained and bears much of a studied desire to omit all expression of fellow-feeling. There is no promise to punish the wicked man who was responsible for the mischievous and lying proclamation or even to inquire into the affair, no expression of concern for the mental agony caused to Aryas, no statement of the innocent intentions of the Government with regard to religious neutrality".

Commenting on the official attitude and reaction, Mahatma Munshi Ram wrote: "What a beautiful demonstration of 'sympathy' on which Lord Morley waxes so eloquent and of 'humanity' with which the bureaucracy is credited"![17]

The deputy commissioner of Karnal once visited Panipat and asked the leading residents if there were any Aryas there. On getting a reply in the affirmative, he said: "Well! Turn out these *budmashes* if you desire peace".[18]

There were three *zaildars* in Karnal district. In the diary of one of them something to the following effect was recorded: "He is a very good *zaildar* but must be watched because he is an Arya Samajist". Whenever a high official visited the village and saw the diary, he looked daggers at the *zaildar* and remarked with a shrug: "Well! You are an Arya Samajist! Alright".[19]

In Uttar Pradesh, too, the Arya institutions and Arya activists were harassed. There is, for instance, the case of *gurukula* Kangri, a premier national institution of higher learning. Mahatma Munshi Ram, its founder-chancellor, and most of the members of its staff were nationalists. Very obviously, an institution like this would inculcate patriotic fervour in the students.

These facts reached the ears of the bureaucracy too, and in a magnified form. The *brahmacharis* of the *gurukula* were portrayed as dangerous persons. They were styled as 'incarnations of Titus Oatus', who

> were expert equestrians and trained shots who could, like Arjuna, bring down the entire flight of birds with one expenditure of force. They were athletes who were drilled and initiated into the mysteries of modern warfare in moonlight when none except the race of Pucks and Oberons could witness their treasonable acts.[20]

The C.I.D. people and government officials paid repeated visits to the *gurukula* in some form or the other.[21] They made elaborate reports on the conditions obtaining there. An officer of the department, says the chief of the state intelligence, who visited the *gurukula* on the occasion of the anniversary in 1909 reported that he saw pictures on the walls purporting to show

the condition of *Bharat Varsha* (India) before the British occupation, and the condition of the English when they arrived in Calcutta. He also saw scenes from the Mutiny at Lucknow'. Mr Forde, district magistrate of Bijnor, saw 'a large coloured illustration of Joan of Arc leading her forces against the English when he visited the institution almost at the same time.[22]

The intelligence agencies of the government made a thorough probe and reached the conclusion that the *gurukula* was indeed preparing ground for sedition. Some of their interesting findings were as follows :

> The scheme of studies at the gurukul does not include any history other than Indian History until the tenth class and specifications are made in prescribing stories from medieval Indian History for the fourth and fifth classes that they are "calculated to stimulate patriotic and righteous feelings".
>
> The isolation of the *brahmachari* from the world is by no means complete, as the *gurukula* boasts a good library, and receives all magazines and high class periodicals published in India. The perusal by the brahmacharis of such insidious and objectionable publications as the Modern Review cannot but induce feelings of disaffection in them. Even those newspapers and periodicals of the present day that are conducted by men known as moderate leaders have as a rule little but misrepresentation and destructive criticism for all the actions of government, and the brahmachari cannot fail to be imbued with the same spirit.
>
> The *gurukula* has also a debating club in which the discussion of political subjects is not apparently prohibited. Such an institution, without anyone to correct misapprehensions or intentional misstatements made in the course of debates, is bound to exercise an influence for bad.
>
> The *gurukula* management lay great stress on the constant and wholesome influence of the superintendents and teachers over the boys, which is described as being that of the guru over the chela. In the *Quinquennial Report for 1902-1907 on the Kangri Gurukula*, Lala Munshi Ram remarked that "given desirable teachers wonderful results can be produced".

Among certain qualities which he enumerated that could be impressed by example as well as by precept was a "burning love for the country". One of the advantages which he claimed for the *brahmachari* of the *gurukula* was that "he possessed much more general information, which had the additional advantage of being sound and desirable".

Mr. Forde, the district magistrate of Bijnore, who visited the *gurukula* in April 1909, was not favourably impressed with the staff. With reference to one of the most important members, Mr. Ramdeo, who also edits the *Vedic Magazine*, he remarked as follows : "He is full of wind and has an undesirable influence in the place. A Bengali with atrocious manners. Nothing he says comes from his heart. His influence over the older men is nil, but he must be doing harm there all the same". Nothing is definitely known to the discredit of any member of the staff, except that one Satwalekar, who held for some time the post of drawing master, and painted a picture of Dayananda for the *gurukula*, was implicated in the Kolhapur bomb conspiracy case. A warrant was issued for his arrest in 1908 and he absconded to avoid its execution. He was eventually arrested at Kangri and sent to Kolhapur, where he was acquitted of the charge against him.

There is little doubt that, intentionally or unintentionally, the *gurukula* is training a band of political *sanyasis*, whose mission will be a menace to the welfare of the state.[23]

Indeed, the *gurukula* was under very thick clouds at the time and it was feared that the government might close the institution. This would have been a great blow—almost an intolerable one—to Mahatma Munshi Ram who, like Lala Hans Raj, had sacrificed everything for building the institution, in his case the *gurukula*. He, therefore, cultivated with the powers that be with a view to dispelling the suspicions. He contacted his friend, G.K. Gokhale, the moderate leader and member of the Viceroy's executive council and William Wedderburn, a retired I.C.S. man from England, when he came to India to preside over the Allahabad session of the Congress (1910) to approach the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge to explain the position of his mission. His two friends succeeded in putting up a stout defence of the

Arya Samaj in general and the *gurukula* in particular before Hardinge. Another friend, C.F. Andrews, a missionary teacher, from England pursued the matter still further : he contacted the Viceroy and other officials in Uttar Pradesh and removed their suspicion of the Samaj and the *gurukula* to a great extent.[24]

C.F. Andrews also made Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant-Governor of U.P., within whose territorial jurisdiction the *gurukula* was, visit the *gurukula* to see things for himself. The visit came about on 6 March 1913 and the visitor was highly pleased with 'the new experiment in education being conducted in the *gurukula* with utmost care and sincerity'.[25]

On 19 February 1914, Meston again visited the *gurukula.* His earlier impressions of the institution were confirmed again and he could not help saying publicly : "This is my ideal of an educational institution".[26]

On 21 October 1916, Lord Chelmsford, the then Viceroy of India, also visited the *gurukula.* Like his deputy (Meston), Chelmsford was also highly impressed by the performance of the *gurukula* in the field of education and the all-round development of the students.[27]

The visits of the V.I.Ps had the desired effect : the visitors praised the *gurukula,* especially its functioning and management, and saw nothing like sedition being preached there. They even went to the extent of saying that *gurukula* had nothing to do with politics.[28]

The truth was however quite different. The teachers in the *gurukula,* almost without an exception, were politicized. True Arya Samajists, they were great nationalists. Like their master, Swami Dayananda, they too, through their teaching had infused the tender minds of their students with patriotic fervour. We have it on the authority of Yashpal, a famous revolutionary, who was a student at the *gurukula* for over seven years that they were politicized to the greatest possible extent. Their politics was of a deep nationalist dye and they hated the British government and people from the bottom of their hearts. They used to discuss national problems openly even when they were too young to comprehend them properly and always held the British government responsible for everything. 'We were convinced', he says, 'that our lot would improve only when the

British were driven out of the country'. And happily, we believed, "that that day was not far off".[29]

Thus like Hans Raj, Munshi Ram was also playing a bluff[30]— the *gurukula* was, as noted above, a manufactory of nationalists who, in most of the cases after emerging out of the institution, played a heroic role in the struggle for freedom.

Besides Arya educational institutions, the Arya preachers were also great suspects in the eyes of the bureaucracy. A perusal of the contemporary records shows that all of them were constantly shadowed by the C.I.D. They were harassed and even jailed for trivial matters. Of these sufferers, the case of one Daulat Ram, an Arya preacher of Agra, received great public attention. Daulat Ram delivered some lectures at Jhansi under the auspices of the local Arya Samaj in 1908. In one of these lectures delivered on 16 August some sepoys from local regiments were present. And that made the whole thing seriously rebellious. Daulat Ram was apprehended and produced before a magistrate under Sections 108, 109 and 112 CPC, who found him guilty of inciting the troops against His Majesty's Government :

> It is proved, said the Magistrate, that Daulat Ram, although not a member of the Jhansi Arya Samaj, addressed an unusually large meeting held by that body on the 16th of August, that the meeting was attended by a number of sepoys belonging to a Native Regiment and that Daulat Ram read out to them the first portion of a chapter of the Satyartha Prakasha which contains a passage ('what a pity that the descendants of these Aryas are being crushed under the heel of the foreigner') highly objectionable if used as part of an address given to Native troops in the service of His Majesty, the King and Emperor. Equally objectionable were the remarks which he is said to have made in connection with the religion of the Hindus.
>
> It may be admitted that no member of an educated body such as the Arya Samaj would attach any weight to a statement implying that the British Government had made or is making any attempt to undermine the religion of its Hindu subject, and it is unlikely that any lecturer would make use of such a statement except for the purpose of

> playing upon the feelings of the untutored minds among his audience.
>
> The average sepoy is comparatively uneducated and credulous and an attempt to excite disaffection in his mind by telling him that his religion is in danger is a dishonest and criminal act.[31]

Daulat Ram spent one year in jail for no fault of his except that he was an Arya.

There were thousands of similar cases of persecution in other provinces when Arya Samaj was active.

IV

In the princely states, too, the Arya Samajists were persecuted—mostly at the instance of the British government/officials. Some important cases of persecution are catalogued here to give an idea as to how things worked there.

The most notorious case of persecution took place at Patiala, a leading Sikh State in Punjab.[32] Arya Samaj was very effective in this state. Although the state bureaucracy had seen its functioning with suspicion ever since its inception, its hostility crossed all limits after the Punjab disturbances of 1907. Especially to Mr. Warburton, who combined in his person the offices of the inspector general of police, the inspector-general of Prisons, and the district magistrate of Patiala, the Samaj was like a red rag to a bull. In whatever its members did he saw sedition and rebellion against the government. By the fall of 1909, Warburton could also, by his frantic efforts, convert the young Maharaja to his thinking.[33]

By October 1909, 'the water had reached up to the danger mark' for the state administration. It was time, said Warburton, 'to act against the seditionists'. In consequence, a crackdown came on the Samaj on 11 October 1909. To begin with 84 persons were arrested. Later there were some more arrests. The accused included such respectable persons as Rai Jwala Prasad, executive engineer, president of the local Samaj, Lala Lachhman Das, secretary, Lala Nand Lal, accountant, P.W.D., Lala Baij Nath, headmaster of the State High School, Patiala.[34]

The Samaj *Mandir* (temple) was locked and placed under police guard.

Those who were arrested were given no intimation as to the nature of the charge against them except that Sections 124A. and 153A were mentioned in the warrants. Their houses were searched illegally for searches were conducted in utter disregard of the provisions of the CPC. It also came to light that they were not made on any clue as to the existence of incriminating matter in their houses but with the idea of finding out anything which could be proved to be incriminating. Cartloads of papers and books found in the houses like the Bible and the Ramayana and photographs of Swami Dayananda Saraswati, were removed.[35]

A special court was constituted by order of the Maharaja with the powers of a chief court to try these cases. When the counsel for the accused appeared before the special court it was discovered that the orders of the court notwithstanding, no complaints had been lodged and no papers had been sent to the special tribunal. Mr. Warburton had acted in a manner which showed that he had little regard either for the forms of law or for the authority of the special tribunal. Though Mr. Roshan Lal, the counsel for the accused, approached Mr. Warburton armed with the written order of the court, he was refused permission to see his clients on the plea that the investigation was still proceeding.[36]

The case came on for hearing on 22 November. The police produced in court cartloads of the so-called "seditious literature" including copies of the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Bible* and the works of Swami Dayananda Saraswati. No complaint was produced and it was even admitted that there was none on the file. When Mr. Arthur Grey, who appeared on behalf of the prosecution, did not think it necessary 'to try the fellows strictly according to the Cr. P.C., as these laws did not cover the state court, it was openly said that there could not have been a more foul approach to a legal case than this.[37]

After a great deal of pleading and pressure the complaint was produced on 15 December 1909. In that the majority of the accused were charged with being members of the Arya Samaj and the rest with being sympathizers thereof. It was

alleged that the meetings of the Samaj were used for the discussion of seditious subjects and the spreading of sedition. It was further alleged that the accused, with others, had conspired to deprive the King-Emperor of the soveieignty of British India. They were charged under Sections 121A, 124A, 153A, and 505.[38]

Mr Grey in order to prove his point made extensive use of passages from *Satyartha Prakasha* and *Aryabhivinaya* of Swami Dayananda, and books written by Lala Lajpat Rai. The Samaj, according to him, was a seditious society and its members were nothing short of political agitators who wanted to oust the British from India. A careful perusal of Mr. Grey's arguments, said Mahatma Munshi Ram, 'leads one to the conclusion that there was no incriminating evidence against the accused and that their sole offence was that they were Aryas by faith and were zealous in spreading the doctrines of the Vedic Religion'. After the case had lingered on for about three months without the prosecution filing the necessary sanction for all the accused and without their being told specifically anything about the crimes of which they were suspected, Mr. Grey intimated to the court that he would have to discharge 30 of the accused. The court obliged him at once.[39]

Reacting to these proceedings, the *Leader* of Allahabad wrote a hard hitting editorial:

> One must pity Mr. Grey, the prosecuting counsel in the Patiala cases. Having ridden a high horse in opening the case for the prosecution, he is obliged to ask for the release of so many as 30 of the accused for want of evidence. And one need not be surprised if it will be stated later that evidence is lacking in the case of many others. But we had rather not anticipate. How much to be deplored it is that large numbers of men—many of them of great respectability—should have been suspected of grave offences against the State, and that action should have been taken against them without proof to start with that they were really guilty or at least that there was reasonable cause to proceed against them? And is it not still worse that the conduct of the case should leave so much to be desired? At least now that Mr. Grey has seen more of the case, is it too much to

hope that he will do his part of the work in later stages with more discretion than zeal?[40]

The rest of the accused faced the farce of a trial. Mr. Grey went on doing venom-spitting against the Arya Samaj, its founder, and its respected leaders like Lajpat Rai and Munshi Ram. His accusations created profound indignation throughout the country—among Aryas and non-Aryas alike. The *Leader* again wrote a powerful editorial against him :

A political trial of a sensational or an important character is a great opportunity for counsel appearing either for the prosecution or the defence and he is quite justified in taking every legitimate advantage of it . . . Mr. Grey of the Lahore Bar is evidently making use of the Patiala case to bring him fame as well as lucre. Counsel in his position is entitled to considerable freedom and even licence, but we cannot recall an instance of a grosser abuse of the functions of counsel for the prosecution. Some of the freaks and high antics of this gentleman have been already noticed but he surpassed himself in his opening address bespattering all round with mud. The accused persons are employed in the Patiala State. Thirty of them have been discharged after being kept in custody for a long time, without a word of evidence being produced against them. The discharged and the other accused belong to the Arya Samaj. The theory of the prosecution is that this body is seditious and spreads disaffection against the British rule. The manner in which Mr. Grey chose to elaborate this argument is nothing short of a disgraceful scandal. He did not spare even the revered memory of Swami Dayananda Saraswati, who, he tried to make out was anti-British in his teachings and wanted to establish an Arya Swadeshi Government. An affront so grave as this will not only offend the whole Arya Samaj but even those who do not belong to the Samaj. It was more than a revival of the silly season of 1907. If this *ingenious lawyer* from Lahore is to be believed all Arya Samajists are dangerous men, but their chief field of activity is Patiala. Lala Lajpat Rai came in for his share for having translated the lives of Garibaldi and Mazzini. Mr. Grey

> has a keener nose for scenting sedition than any C.I.D. officer in India. Lala Munshi Ram, the gifted and self-sacrificing Governor of *gurukul*, is appearing for some of the accused and he was not spared either. His school was described as a most suspicious institution. What connection has it with the accused before the Court? Mr. Grey did not concern himself with such trial relevancies. Krishnaverma happens to have been one of the trustees of the Arya Samaj, though he never did anything for it. But was he anti-British when Swami Dayananda knew him? The Arya Samajists subscribed to the *Panjabee* and that was enough to condemn them. Even ladies were not spared. The wife of one of the defence counsel edits a Hindi magazine which was described as seditious. Reading Mr. Grey's speech, our impression is that he does not know politics from Adam,... It is a great pity that correspondents have telegraphed such a silly speech all over the country. It is positively unsafe to put such a case in the hands of such a man, and the Patiala Durbar will be well advised in looking out for a more informed and less hysterical counsel.[41]

The Arya Samaj rallied behind the 'accused'. The Arya and even the non-Arya press criticized Patiala executive and judiciary for their persecution of the Aryas. In sum, the pressure on the state was almost unbearable. In such circumstances, a via media was taken for bringing the trial to a close. In consequence, on the 17th of January 1910 at the instance of some one from the durbar the accused presented a petition to the Maharaja protesting their innocence, promising to take extra care in the future, and praying that the cases against them might be withdrawn and they be restored to their former status.

The Maharaja accepted their plea and passed the following order on 19 February 1910 :

> I am willing to accept this apology . . . to order that the trial of the accused be stopped and proceedings against them withdrawn, but I am not willing that any person against whom there has been even a breath of suspicion of disloyalty to Patiala raj or British government should remain in my employ or in my state, and I, therefore order that all the

> accused who are in my employ should be at once dismissed from the posts or appointments which they hold and shall leave my state within one week and never enter it again without my special permission.[42]

But the question is : why was the apology tendered at all by the Aryas if they had not committed any wrong? Munshi Ram has answered this question very figuratively and hence a lengthy quotation from him :

> The petition was represented to the Maharaja, not because the accused were afraid of consequences, but because a hint was conveyed to them that that was the only way out of the difficulty. And what after all was the petition? It was, as the *Bengalee* characterised it at the time, a 'remarkable document'. There was no acknowledgement of guilt. On the contrary, it stated clearly and unambiguously that the case for the prosecution had no legs to stand upon.
> The conduct of the accused was a glorious vindication of the position of the Arya Samaj. The accused did not admit that even unwittingly 'any of them' had committed any 'indiscretion' which could be construed by any fair-minded and sane man as objectionable. It was for this reason that they promised to take 'special' care (they had already been taking reasonable care) to do nothing which may in any way be misconstrued as being calculated to stir up feeling of ill-will towards the Patiala Raj or his Imperial and Most Gracious Majesty, King Edward VII, our beloved Emperor...[43]

The *Leader* (Allahabad) also wrote in the same vein in its issue of February 23, 1910 :

> It only remains for us to congratulate Rai Jawala Prasad and his fellow-sufferers on emerging from the trial without a stain on their character for loyalty. They never admitted guilt, they never apologised, their petition to the Maharaja was an unequivocal expression of their innocence and assertion of their loyalty to British as well as the Patiala Government.[44]

A word about the punishment now. Although an understanding was given that persecution would not follow the petition, the 'accused' were punished. This punishment was bitterly criticized by one and all. The press, especially in Punjab and outside, took a serious note of it. *The Tribune*, *Panjabee*, *Leader*, *Bengalee*, *Advocate*, *Telegraph*, *Mahratta*, *Phoenix*, *United India*, *Amrita Bazar Patrika* etc. wrote editorials and leaders against the decision. There was pressure from other sources too, as a result of which the order was partially modified—the order of punishment was withdrawn in respect of the residents of Patiala state.[45]

The Arya Samajists were also persecuted and harassed in the state of Jodhpur. One incident, which though small, yet agitated the Aryas all over the country, is worth noting, for it shows that not only people but even the sacred symbol of the Arya Samaj was insulted. "On the very day", (in 1909) says Munshi Ram, "on which His Excellency Lord Minto was making his progress in the city of Jodhpur and only a few hours before the time when his Lordship was to deliver the most gracious message of His Majesty, the King-Emperor, containing the noble words : "*No man among my* subjects has been favoured, molested or disquieted by reason of his religious belief or worship", the Jodhpur Police was forcibly removing the sign-board of the local Arya Samaj and was lowering the banner of 'Om' because they lay in the Viceregal route.

This was persecution of the worst type, which made the Aryas very miserable.[46]

In the state of Indore, too, the Aryas were harassed. Lakshman Rao Sharma was a head accountant in the office of the inspector-general of state police at Indore. He was also president of the Indore Arya Samaj. When the inspector-general came to know of this in June 1909, he called Lakshman to his office and asked him to leave the Samaj failing which he would be dismissed. He disobeyed 'the unlawful command' and suffered dismissal.[47]

There were innumerable similar cases of harassment all over India in the princely states. But their cataloguing is not possible even if it were desirable. It should be sufficient to say here, thus, that as in the British India so in the states the Samaj was a suspect in the eyes of the powers that be. The

Samaj and its members were subjected to a lot of harassment and persecution during the period under study.

V

What was the effect of the persecution let loose on the Samaj by the central, provincial and princely state governments? Barring a few, who were made of delicate clay, the Arya Samajists stood their ground. They suffered, sometimes silently, sometimes under protest, but did not yield. The Samaj, despite all efforts to destory it, continued to flourish.

References

1. Munshi Ram and Ramadeva, *op. cit*, p. 108.
2. Home Political (Conf.) No. 7, August 1910.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Munshi Ram and Ramadeva, *loc. cit.*, p. 96.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 255-57. For full details please see chapter 6.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
10. Home Political (Conf.), No. 7, August 1910.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. *The Tribune*, 2 March 1901.
14. *Ibid.*, Home Public, Deposit No. 1, February 1901.
15. *Ibid*
16. It might sound very strange that such an important memorial went without any effect. It was not a mere list of allegations submitted by some ordinary persons as rightly reported by *The Tribune*, in its hard hitting editorial on 2 March 1901 in this regard :

    "Now, so far as we are aware, the signatories to the memorial are level-headed men with a practical turn of mind, and not at all the sort of fiery characters one would be led to imagine them to be from the apparently spirited tone of their appeal to the Viceroy. They are certainly not the type of individuals to be led away, even by a burning sense of wrong, into a single reckless statement which they are not confident of corroborating by facts. This is what gives exceptional importance to the petition. Besides, it is not a local matter alone which is involved. The whole body of the Arya Samaj, in the Punjab as well as other Provinces, is concerned in whatever steps it pleases the Government of India to take in

connection with the representation. The Samaj counts amongst its followers many of the foremost men in the educated Hindu community. Their aims and objects are patent to all and their proceedings are above board. In this Province some of the most potent progressive and reformative influences have emanated from them."

17. Munshi Ram and Ramadeva, *op. cit.*, Part II, pp. 258-60.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
20. *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 37.
21. Mahatma Munshi Ram gives an interesting anecdote relating to one such visitor (1909) :

    A few months before this a Deputy Collector who gave himself out to be a pleader visited the Gurukula. I had been informed previously of the fact that a Deputy Collector would visit the Gurukula and would give himself out as a pleader. I had been informed of this by our Intelligence Deptt. (Laughter) which is no less vigilant than the Govt. Intelligence Deptt. In the dead of night I found the pseudo-pleader loitering about like a spectral visitant the enclosed area where the boys played *Gutku Phari*. A thatched enclosure had been built round the open space to prevent ladies from passing that way. But the legal practitioner whose intellect had been befogged and intellectual vision obfuscated by wise saws and precedents recently acquired was oppressed by God knows what night-mares and hallucinations. He went into the enclosed area and was looking about him with a blank look and an expressionless countenance when I caught hold of him by the arm and said with a good-humoured smile and a sly look "Well, my good fellow! Have you found out all our secrets". He was completely taken aback and averting his countenance said "You have found me out Sir! Yes, I am not what I represented to you that I was. The Gurukula is a centre of righteousness. I cannot and will not malign it."

    Vide *ibid.*, part II, p. 111.
22. C.E.W. Sands, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-35.
24. For details see Satyadeva, *Swami Shraddhananda*, p. 403; Satyaketu Vidyalankara, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 215-20.
25. Satyaketu Vidyalankara, *op. cit.*, Vol, II, pp. 223-33.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. Yashpal gives a very interesting account of the feelings which the *gvrukula* students cherised in this regard at that time :

    "मुझे सबसे उग्र स्मृति है गुरुकुल के वातावरण में अंग्रेज तथा विदेशी शासन से विरोधी भावना की। उस उम्र में ही जाने किस प्रेरणा से हम लोगों (गुरुकुल के विद्यार्थियों) को यह दृढ़ विश्वास था कि हम अंग्रेजों को अपने देश से मार भगायेंगे।

अंग्रेजों को मार भगाने के कार्यक्रम की कोई रूपरेखा हमारे दिमाग में नहीं थी। हमारी कल्पना में यह बात जीवन का ऐसा ही निश्चित क्रम थी जैसे हमारे शरीर का बढ़कर युवा हो जाना। इतना ही नहीं, यह भी कल्पना थी कि भारतवासी एक दिन इंग्लैंड में जाकर शासन करेंगे। अल्हड़पन की ऐसी कल्पनाओं का आधार गुरुकुल में दी जाने वाली शिक्षा का यह तत्त्व था कि संसार के सम्पूर्ण ज्ञान का मूल वेद है। वेदों का गायन करने वाले भारत के आर्यों से श्रेष्ठ संसार के किसी देश की कोई जाति नहीं हो सकती। अतीत काल में सम्पूर्ण संसार पर आर्यों का राज्य था। वैदिक धर्म में शिथिलता आ जाने के कारण आर्यों का पतन हो गया। इसी कारण इस देश में मुसलमानों का और फिर अंग्रेजों का राज्य हो गया। परन्तु आर्य लोग शीघ्र ही उन्नति करके संसार पर फिर अपना साम्राज्य कायम कर लेंगे। हमारी दृष्टि में वेदों के उद्धार का उद्देश्य आध्यात्मिक उन्नति के साथ-साथ अपनी सूझबूझ के अनुसार राजनैतिक भी था। उस आयु में आध्यात्मिक लक्ष्य क्या समझ में आता? अपने शत्रु अंग्रेजों से लड़ने की बात जरूर समझ में आती थी और आध्यात्मिक भावना जीवन की परिस्थितियों से स्वतन्त्र भी नहीं हो सकती है।

इस भावना की और बचकाने दिमाग की एक अत्यन्त अल्हड़ और निरर्थक कल्पना की स्मृति अब तक खूब स्पष्ट है। हम लोगों को प्रातः-सायं नियम से सन्ध्या और हवन कराने के लिए पंक्तियों में या वृत्ताकार बैठा दिया जाता था। सन्ध्या पालथी मारे आंखें मूंदे उच्च स्वर से मन्त्रोच्चारण द्वारा होती थी, तब वैदिक मन्त्रों का अर्थ तो जानते नहीं थे। केवल तोते की तरह रटने का ही पुण्य होता था...सन्ध्या करते समय मन बालसुलभ कल्पनाओं में खेलता रहता। प्रायः अंग्रेजों के विरुद्ध बातें करते रहने के कारण मैं आंखें मूँदे-मूँदे कल्पना में देखा करता कि इंग्लैंड में आर्यों का राज्य हो गया है। उस समय की कल्पना में इंग्लैंड कुछ-कुछ गुरुकुल के वातावरण जैसा ही दिखाई देता था। कल्पना में देखता कि अंग्रेजों को धोती-कुर्ता पहनना पड़ रहा है। अंग्रेज ब्रह्मचारी चुटिया में गाँठ लगाये, जनेऊ और खड़ाऊँ पहने घूम रहे हैं और मैं उनका अधिष्टाता बन गया हूँ। इस कल्पना की विशेष असंगत बात यह थी कि अंग्रेजों को तो मैं कुर्ता-धोती में देखता और स्वयं को कोट-पतलून में। इस अद्भुत कल्पना का विश्लेषण यही हो सकता है कि प्रभुता और शक्ति-सम्पन्न अंग्रेजों की पोशाक के प्रति आदर होने से उसे अपनाने की इच्छा और साथ ही दासता की प्रतिहिंसा में अंग्रेजों से अपना अनुसरण कराने की भी इच्छा।

इस कम उम्र में हम विदेशी शासन के विरुद्ध किस प्रकार की राजनैतिक बातें किया करते थे, उसका भी एक उदाहरण याद है। प्रथम महायुद्ध के दिन थे। सन्ध्या-भोजन के बाद कुछ दूर टहलने जाने का नियम था। गर्मियों या बरसात में रात के समय पठन-पाठन नहीं हो सकता था। इस मौसम में सन्ध्या के भोजन के बाद की सैर काफी लम्बी हो जाती थी। एक दिन इसी प्रकार की सैर के समय अपने किसी सहपाठी से बातचीत करता हुआ मैं युद्ध में जर्मनी से अंग्रेजों की पराजय की कामना कर रहा था। पीछे से सहसा कन्धे पर हाथ आ पड़ा। घूमकर देखा—आचार्य रामदेव थे। महात्मा मुंशीराम जी के संन्यास ले लेने के बाद रामदेव जी ही गुरुकुल विश्वविद्यालय के प्रिंसिपल या आचार्य बने थे। आर्य समाज की गुरुकुल पार्टी के क्षेत्र में वे बहुत ही बड़े नेता रहे हैं। उनकी लिखी हुई पुस्तक 'आर्य सभ्यता का इतिहास' हमें गुरुकुल में पढ़ाई जाती थी। पाँचवीं कक्षा में उस पुस्तक को समझ पाना कठिन था, परन्तु उससे इतना अवश्य समझ में आता था कि हमारे पूर्वज आर्य लोग दिग्विजयी थे। उनके पास हवाई जहाज आदि सभी वैज्ञानिक साधन थे। वेदों के अधिकारी समाज का दिग्विजयी होना अनिवार्य है।

आचार्य जी का हाथ अपने कन्धे पर देख सकपका गया। परन्तु उन्होंने मेरा उत्साह बढ़ाते हुए प्रश्न किया—"क्यों तुम चाहते हो कि जर्मनी जीत जाय ?"

"अंग्रेजों के हार जाने पर हमारा देश स्वतन्त्र हो जायेगा।"

"अंग्रेजों के हार जाने से ही हिन्दुस्तान का स्वतन्त्र हो जाना आवश्यक नहीं। यहाँ जर्मनी का राज्य हो जायेगा। जर्मन लोग अंग्रेजों की अपेक्षा अधिक कड़ा और अनुदारशासन करेंगे।" आचार्य जी ने समझाया।

"यदि जर्मन लोग अधिक दमन करेंगे तो हमारा देश उनसे लड़ने के लिए तैयार हो जायेगा। अधिक दमन होने से क्रान्ति हो जायेगी।" मैंने उस समय के ज्ञान के अनुसार कहा।

"नहीं, यह आवश्यक नहीं कि दमन से क्रान्ति हो जाय," आचार्य जी ने समझाया, परन्तु अंग्रेज-विरोधी भावना के लिए मुझे धमकाया नहीं। उस काल में इस प्रकार की बातचीत यदि लाहौर के किसी स्कूल अथवा सरकारी यूनिवर्सिटियों से सम्बद्ध किसी संस्था का कोई विद्यार्थी करता तो परिणाम काफी सख्त हो सकता था।

Vide Yashpal, *Singhavalokana*, Vol. I, pp. 44-45.

30. Mahatma Munshi Ram was actually playing a bluff on the visitors. He simply pleased them by according warm welcome to them or

holding some functions to congratulate the bureaucrats/officials on their safely escaping some accidents etc. Yashpal is absolutely right in this regard :

"बचपन में मैं स्वयं लगभग सात वर्ष गुरुकुल में रहा हूँ। मुझे याद है कि गुरुकुल काँगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय के संस्थापक महात्मा मुंशीराम जी जो बाद में संन्यास ग्रहण करने पर स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द कहलाने लगे थे, गवर्नरों और वायसराय को गुरुकुल में आमन्त्रित करके उनका प्रेमपूर्वक सत्कार करने का पाखण्ड करते रहते थे। जब दिल्ली में लार्ड हार्डिग पर बम फेंका गया और वायसराय बाल-बाल बच गये तो गुरुकुल में ईश्वर की इस कृपा पर धन्यवाद देने के लिए एक सभा की गयी थी। लार्ड और लेडी हार्डिग के चित्र विद्यार्थियों को बाँटे गये थे। उनके दीर्घजीवन के लिए ईश्वर से प्रार्थना की गयी थी। पाखण्ड शब्द का उपयोग मैंने इसलिए किया है कि वास्तव में गुरुकुल काँगड़ी के वातावरण में अंग्रेज और विदेशी शासन के प्रति उत्कट घृणा थी। विदेशी शासन के प्रति वहाँ परवशता का भाव था, प्रेम का नहीं।"

Munshi Ram did not make any change in the syllabi of the *gurukula* or in the teaching staff. Nor did he agree to receive any grant-in-aid from the government. He even turned down the offer of according the status of a deemed-to-be University to the *gurukula*. No better words than of Indra Vidyavachaspati, son of Mahatma Munshi Ram, can be found to explain the position of this regard :

"मेरी कल्पना है कि उन लोगों (सरकारी अधिकारियों) ने और आगे बढ़कर गुरुकुल को अपने असर में लेने का संकल्प किया। उन्होंने सोचा होगा कि जो व्यक्ति हमसे इतनी अच्छी तरह मिलता है और जिसके हृदय में अंग्रेज जाति के प्रति अणुमात्र भी कटुता नहीं है, उसे यह समझा लेना क्या कठिन है कि सरकार का सहयोग प्राप्त करने से गुरुकुल को लाभ ही होगा ! सम्भव है अत्यन्त सद्भावना से प्रेरित होकर ही अधिकारियों ने ऐसा विचार किया हो। परन्तु यह असंदिग्ध है कि एक समय ऐसा आ गया था जब सरकार गुरुकुल को बहुत-सी आर्थिक सहायता देने के अतिरिक्त गुरुकुल विश्वविद्यालय को चार्टर-प्राप्त यूनिवर्सिटी मानने को तैयार हो गयी थी। इस सम्बन्ध में काफी स्पष्टता से एक बहुत ऊँचे अधिकारी ने पिता जी को इशारा भी दिया था। जिस तीव्र उत्सुकता से सरकार ने गुरुकुल की ओर हाथ बढ़ाया, उसका एक मुख्य कारण सरकार की यह भावना अवश्य प्रतीत होती थी कि गुरुकुल का और सरकार का स्थिर गठजोड़ हो जाय।"

"सरकार को इसमें सफलता नहीं हुई। उसका कारण यह था कि जिसे उन्होंने केवल बर्फ की तह समझा था, उसके नीचे कठोर चट्टान थी। पिता जी की सामाजिकता और सरलता के पीछे दृढ़ विश्वास की जो दीवार थी उसे ऊंचे अधिकारी तब तक नहीं समझ सके, जब तक पिता जी ने सरकार द्वारा पेश किये हुए दोनों उपहारों को ग्रहण करने से कोरा इन्कार नहीं कर दिया। बुद्धि और श्रद्धा दोनों के सहारे पर चलने वाले व्यक्तियों के स्वभाव की यह विशेषता होती है कि वे गौण बातों में समझौते के लिए जिस शीघ्रता से तैयार हो जाते हैं, मुख्य सिद्धान्त के विषय में उससे भी अधिक शीघ्रता से समझौता करने से सर्वथा इन्कार कर देते हैं। जो लोग गम्भीर दृष्टि से इसमें मनोवैज्ञानिक कारणों पर विचार नहीं करते, वे प्राय: उन व्यक्तियों को 'अस्थिर, परिवर्तनशील, दुर्बोध' आदि शब्दों से विशेषित करने लगते हैं। वस्तुत: बात यह होती है कि सिद्धान्तवादी मनुष्य गौण और मुख्य में भेद करना जानते हैं। गौण में समझौता करने में सदा उद्यत रहते हैं, किन्तु मुख्य सिद्धान्त को आंच नहीं आने देते हैं। पिता जी ने सरकार के हाथ में हाथ तब तक रहने दिया, जब तक उन्होंने यह अनुभव नहीं किया कि गुरुकुल की अन्तरात्मा पर आघात नहीं पहुँच सकता है। ज्यों ही उन्होंने ऐसी सम्भावना का अनुभव किया, त्यों ही अपना हाथ खींच लिया; उपहार लेने से इन्कार कर दिया और इस आशंका से कि निरन्तर सम्पर्क से कभी परिस्थिति अधिक न उलझ जाय, (सरकारी अधिकारियों के) निमन्त्रणों का क्रम भी वहीं समाप्त कर दिया। लार्ड चेम्सफोर्ड के गुरुकुल-आगमन के साथ अधिकारियों के आगमन का तांता समाप्त हो गया।"

See Indra, *Mere Pita*, pp. 152-54 *vide* Satyaketu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 23-60.

31. See Munshi Ram and Ramadeva, *op. cit.*, Part II, pp. 273-76.
32. The account is for the most part based on *ibid*, pp. 262-294.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.* In all 289 persons were arrested. Out of them 196 were later retained for persecution. The 100 persons in list B were meant for severer punishment and 46 in list D for lighter one 'according to their offences'.

List-B

1. Lala Jwala Prasad, Executive Engineer, P.W.D.
2. L. Nand Lal S/o Kirpa Ram Khatri, Garhshankar, Distt. Hoshiarpur, Accountant, P.W.D.
3. Lachhman Dass, Khatri of Santokhgarh Distt. Hoshiarpur, Headmaster, Sheranwala Gate High School, Patiala.

4. Bhagwan Dass S/o Telu Ram, Khatri of Jagraon Distt. Ludhiana, Treasurer to H.H. the Kanwar Sahib.
5. Murari Lal S/o Jhangiri Mall, Bania of Patiala, Mohalla Jand Galli, Clerk A.G's Office.
6. Rameshar Dass, Brahmin of Patiala, Treasury Officer.
7. Prabhu Ram S/o Ghasita Ram, Bania of Jagadhri.
8. Kulwant Rai S/o Chand, Khatri of Patiala, ahalmad.
9. Kanhya Lall, Khatri of Kaithal Distt. Karnal.
10. Wilaiti Ram S/o Bhagirthi Mall, Bania Dealer in Swadeshi Goods, Patiala.
11. Chhotu Ram S/o Bhagirthi Mall, Bania of Patiala.
12. Bulaqi Dass S/o Mukandi Lall, Khatri of Ambala, Clerk Acct.-Gen's Office.
13. Shib Charan Dass S/o Fateh Chand, Khatri of Patiala, Dhabian-Street, Munsarim Sett. Office.
14. Raghbar Dyal S/o Gurdial Singh, Khatri of Patiala, Accountant, Rai Jwala Prasad's Office.
15. Girdhari Lall S/o Rallia Ram, Khatri of Mukand Pur Distt, Jullundur, Sub-Overseer, P.W.D.
16. Babu Gowardhan Lall S/o Sunder Dass, Khatri of Akalgarh Sub-Overseer, P.W.D.
17. Ganda Ram S/o Biru Mall, Bania, of Patiala, Dealer in Gramophones.
18. Shankar Lal S/o Hira Lall, Bania of Narnaul Distt..Mahendragarh Dealer in Swadeshi goods.
19. Ganda Ram, Clerk to Rai Jwala Prasad.
20. B. Balmokand S/o Surja Mall, Khatri of Nawan Shahar Distt. Jullundhur, Clerk P.W.D.
21. Chint Ram S/o Mukand Lall, Khatri, Rahon Distt. Jullundur, S.O., P.W.D.
22. Lachhman Dass S/o Mathra Dass, Khatri of Jagraon, S.O., P.W.D.
23. Lahori Mall S/o Sudhu Mall, Khatri of Jullundur, S.O.. P.W.D.
24. Kishori Lall S/o Narain Dass, of Sadhora Distt, Ambala, Clerk, P.W.D.
25. Brij Bihari Lall S/o Ladli Prasad, Khatri of Patiala, Urdu Moharir P.W.D.
26. Ram Chand S/o Nand Lall, Khatri of Banga Distt. Jullundur, S.O., P.W.D.
27. Babu Ram S/o Nanak Ram, Khatri of Patiala, Store Clerk.
28. Ajit Singh of Khanna, Distt. Ludhiana, Clerk P.W.D.
29. Telu Ram S/o Ram Lall, Khatri of Samana Sett. Office, Rajpura Circle,
30. Babu Indar Singh S/o Khazan Singh Beri, Khatri of Hoshiarpur, Munsarim, Tehsil Patiala.
31. Dhani Ram S/o Rala Ram, Khatri of Tanda Distt. Hoshiarpur, Patwari, Patiala Tehsil.

32. Pt. Gauri Datta, Brahmin of Patiala, Professor of Sanskrit Mohindra College.
33. Raunak Ram, Khatri of Bhadaun (Patiala State), Teacher, Sheranwala Gate High School.
34. Kundan Lall S/o Siri Ram, Bania of Patiala, Teacher Sheranwala Gate High School.
35. Karta Ram S/o Ralla, Brahmin, Mahalpur Distt., Hoshiarpur, Headmaster, High School (Old Jail).
36. Sohan Lall, B.A. S/o Baiji Nath of Naingarh Distt. Sialkot, Teacher, High School.
37. Baij Nath S/o Bhagwan Dass, Bania of Pundri Distt. Karnal, Headmaster.
38. L. Charan Dass S/o Kirpa Ram, Khatri, Shakargarh Distt. Hoshiarpur, Naib Reader.
39. Johri Lal S/o Karta Ram, Khatri of Payal Distt. Amargarh, Clerk A.G.'s Office.
40. Lachhman Sigh S/o Nand Singh, Sodhi of Malpur Tehsil, Clerk Postmaster-General's Office.
41. Hargopal, Clerk, Sanitary Department.
42. Munshi Sant Ram S/o Narain Singh, Hindu Rajput of Patiala, Head Constable Ist grade.
43. B. Dhani Ram B.A. S/o Pohlo Ram, of Ludhiana, Inspector, Police Training School Patiala.
44. B. Samsher Singh S/o B. Basakhi Ram, Inspector, Rajput Barariah Head Constable (Sub-Inspector at present).
45. Nand Lal, Head Constable, Doraha Police Station.
46. Ajit Singh, Rajput, Constable 2nd Patiala.
47. Sain Das S/o Gurditta Mal, Khatri at present a resident of Patiala, Legal practitioner.
48. Ganeshi Lai S/o Mehtab Khatri of Patiala, Clerk, P.W.D.
49. Nihal Chand S/o Atar Sen Khatri of Patiala, Clerk, Sanitary Department.
50. Ram Chand S/o Pyare Lal Khatri of Amritsar, Clerk P.W.D.
51. Des Raj, Clerk in the Office of Rai Jawala Prasad.
52. Bhagat Ram S/o Ishri Mal, Bania of Kaithal, Karnal Distt. Nazim, Municipal Office.
53. Atma Ram S/o Duni Chand Kalal of Ambala, Acct., Workshop.
54. Sant Ram S/o Kirpa Kam, Sud. of Hoshiarpur, Reader to Rai Kahan Chand A.C.S.O.
55. Doctor Bakhtawar Singh S/o Kanhya Lal Khatri, of Paddi Distt. Ludhiana, Hospital Asstt., Sadar Dispensary Patiala.
56. Churanji Lal of Patiala Clerk, AG's Office.
57. Nanak Chand S/o Phagu goldsmith of Patiala.
58. Atar Chand S/o Kalu, contractor of Patiala.
59. B. Munni Lal S/o Nathu Lal Khatri of Patiala, Roz-Namacha Writer of Civil Branch, A.G's Office.

60. Mehr Chand S/o Girdhari Lal Bania of Patiala, Sarishtadar Plague.
61. Umrao Chand S/o Mehtab Rai Khatri of Patiala, petition writer.
62. Hari Shankar S/o Panna Lal, Kaistha of Meerut, Clerk P.W.D.
63. Madan Gopal S/o Tara Chand Khatri Patiala, Plague Office.
64. Dault Ram S/o Amar Chand Arora of Patiala, Clerk Sanitary Commissioner's Office.
65. Banarsi Dass S/o Kalu Ram, Khatri of Khana, Clerk, P.W.D.
66. Satya Pal alias Sant Pal alias Bura Mal S/o Balmukand Khatri of Lala Musa, Clerk, Sanitary Office.
67. Chanda Ram S/o Mehr Chand, Brahman of Chak Mughlan, Distt. Jullundher, Clerk, P.W.D.
68. Amarnath, Kaistha, Delhi, Clerk, P.W.D.
69. Mathra Das S/o Amarchand Khatri of Shamchaurasi Distt. Hoshiarpur, Sub-Overseer, P.W.D.
70. Ram Rup S/o Chhaj Ram, Khatri of Khatauli Distt., Muzafarnagar, Sub-Overseer, P.W.D.
71. Durga Das S/o Hakim Das Khatri of Vairoval, S.O., P.W.D.
72. Dhansi S/o Biru Mal Khatri of Batinda, Overseer, P.W.D.
73. Lekh Ram S/o Sant Ram Kalal of Kural Distt., Ambala, S-Ovr.
74. Gokal Chand S/o Nanak Chand Brahman, Head Clerk, P.W.D.
75. Mangul Chand S/o Kirpa Ram of Amritsar, Estimater, P.W.D.
76. Mukandi Lal S/o Tulsi Ram Khatri of Jullundher, Clerk, P.W.D.
77. Ganput Rai S/o Karta Ram Brahman, Clerk, P.W.D.
78. Salig Ram S/o Aggarwal, Clerk, P.W.D.
79. Shyam Singh S/o Diwan Singh Kalal of Fatehpur, Distt. Karnal, Settlement Nazir.
80. Munshi Ram S/o Ram Nath Khatri of Talvandi, Distt. Ludhiana, Patwari Patiala Tehsil.
81. Moti Ram S/o Hari Ram Khatri of Veroval Distt. Hoshiarpur, Teacher, Primary School.
82. Duni Chand S/o Gokal Chand Khatri of Sabbalpur Distt. Jullundher, Teacher, Primary School.
83. Diwan Chand S/o Rullia Ram Khatri of Gujranwala Teacher, Middle School, Mahindra College.
84. Pdt. Ram S/o Sujanand Brahman of Batala Distt. Gurdaspur Teacher, Primary School, Mahindra College.
85. Radha Krishna, Clerk AG's Office.
86. Kishan Murari Lal S/o Ladli Prasad, Kaistha of Patiala, Clerk, Post Office.
87. Bishember Das of Mehroli Kalsia, State, Acctt. Irrigation Department.
88. Bihari Lal, Patwari, Canal Department.
89. Bhagat Ram S/o Mukandi Ram, Khatri, Sub-Overseer, Canal Deptt, Ghagar Branch.

90. Ram Das S/o Jumna Das Khatri of Jullundhar, Medical Officer.
91. B. Tulsi Ram S/o Hari Chand Rajput of Mahindra Garh, Inspector, Police.
92. Gauri Shankar of Fatehabad contractor, near Jaswant Rai's House.
93. Nand Lal S/o Daya Ram Khatri of Kapurthala, reader, Judicial Commissioner of Settlement.
94. Atma Ram S/o Shib Dayal Khatri of Hirak, Thana Doraha, Clerk, Settlement Commissioner.
95. Nanak Chand of Gujrat, Nazir, Asstt. Settlement Commissoner's Office.
96. Harcharan Das S/o Gokal Arora of Patiala, Attar.
97. Radha Krishna S/o Prabhu Dayal of Lahore, Clerk Acctt. P.W.D.
98. Tilok Chand S/o Gokal Arora of Patiala Attar.
99. Prabhu Dayal, Pleader.
100. Phumman Singh, proprietor Patiala Press.

Lists C-D

1. Ganda Rama Son of Mukandi caste Rora residence of Dhanaudi District Gujranwala, Punjab, Head Master Sunam School.
2. Lala Miri Mull Son of Daulat Ram, Caste Sud, resident of Manikpur, District Panjour, Patiala State, Girdawar Qanungo, Sunam.
3. Dunichand Son of Jai Singh Caste, Saini, resident of Rampura (Phagwara side). Thana Labu Dist. Rajpura, Girdawar Qanungo Monk.
4. Chandu Lal son of Budh Sain, caste Kaisth resident of Sunam, Patiala State, Ist grade pleader of Patiala State Courts.
5. Gurdit Chand son of Govind Sahay, caste Kaisth, resident of Taran Amritsar District, Patwari, Settlement Department Sunam.
6. Lala Devi Dayal son of Chandu Lal, caste Kaisth resident of Sunam, Patiala State Pleader of Patiala Courts.
7. Ram Lal son of Moha Ram easte Brahman resident of Sunam, Pleader, Sunam Courts & c.
8. Pat Ram son of Ballu Ram, caste Bania, resident of Narwana Patiala State, Sahukar, Narwana.
9. Ram Saran son of Ganesha Mall, caste Brahman, resident of Bharwa District Lahore, Headmaster Vernacular Middle School, Narwana.
10. Gauri Shanker son of Buta Mall Bania resident of Narwana, Patiala State, Cloth Merchant Narwana.

11. Shadi Ram son of Chandu Lal, Khatry resident of Pail, Patiala State, Reader, Nabi Tehsildar, Narwana.
12. Harbilas son of Gurdial, caste Bania, residence of Narwana, Patiala State, Sahukar Narwana.
13. Dhani Ram son of Lal Chand, caste Kalal, resident of Joga District Ferozepur, Patwari Ojhana, Tehsil, Narwana.
14. Bhagwan Chand son of Nathu Ram, caste Brahman resident of Joga District Ferozepur, Patwari, Tehsil Narwana.
15. Dileep Chand son of Pat Ram caste Bania, resident of Narwana Patiala State, Sahukar.
16. Mahasha Kishen Chand caste Rora, resident of Kamelia District Multan, Office Qanungo Bhawanigarh, Patiala State.
17. Babu Munna Lal son Kanhya Lal caste Khatry resident of Paddi, District Ludhiana, Sub-overseer, Public Works, Bhawanigara, Patiala State.
18. Babu Bura Ram son of Nauhria Mall, Caste Khatry resident of Ferozepur City, Teacher, Middle School, Bhawanigarh, Patiala State.
19. Raunaq Ram son of Kalu Ram, caste Bania, resident of Talwandi Sabbo, Tehsil Bhatinda, District Narwana, Shopkeeper.
20. Paras Ram son of Bhagat Ram, caste Mahajan, resident of Talwandi Sabbo, Shopkeeper.
21. Saligram Khatry resident of Sanur, Patiala State, School Master Basi, District Amargarh.
22. Dault Ram son of Munishiram, caste Khatry, resident of Basi, District Amargarh, Naib Qanungo Basi.
23. Radha Kishen Basi, District Amargarh, Teacher High School Basi.
24. Narain Das Manager, Sirdar Sahib Bhadaur.
25. Lal Chand son of Kirparam, caste Khatry, resident of Amritsar, Patwari, Sunam.
26. Bhagat Ram son of Banna Ram, caste Bania, Patwari, Sunam.
27. Pandit Bihari Lal, caste Brahman, resident of Bhawanigarh Patiala State, Sadar Qanungo Sunam.
28. Pandit Atma Ram, Brahman, resident of Rajpura, Second Master Sunam School.
29. Manohar Lal son of Lala Bansi Ram caste Khatry, resident of Sunam. Police Head Constable attached to Sadar Police Office, Patiala.
30. Lachmi Chand son of Sahibditta Mall. Sud, resident of Shekhupura, Kapurthala State, Patwari Sagan Village, Tehsil Narwana.
31. Mukandi Lal son of Dayaram, caste Khatry, resident of Parthala Tehsil Pail, Patiala, State, Patwari Hulka Rawal, Tehsil Narwana.

32. Prithi Chand son of Sansari Mal, caste Bania, resident of Narwana, Shopkeeper.
33. Shadiram son of Jaidayal, caste Bania, resident of Narwana Patiala State.
34. Ragha son of Bhagatram, Jat, cultivator, Narwana.
35. Harakh Chand of Bahadur Singh, Rajpoot, Patwari Jamna Canal, Narwana.
36. Pandit Suraj Bhan son of Sangor, Brahman, Ahalmad, Settlement Deputy Superintendent, Narwana.
37. Ramsaran Das son of Patram, Brahman, resident of Narwana Patiala State, Dhuri Circle Patwari Kulath, Tehsil Narwana.
38. Pandit Harnand son of Shri Ram, Brahman, resident of Kulath Tehsil Narwana, Sahukar.
39. Rikhiram son of Gokal Chand, Bania, resident of Chiniwal, District Ludhiana, Patwari of Ojana, Tehsil Narwana.
40. Jai Ram son of Sada Ram, Brahman, resident of Narwana, Zemindar and Banker.
41. Ramdhari son of Jewna, Brahman, cultivator Narwana.
42. Kishory Mall son of Harnand Lal, Khatri, resident of Patiala, Settlement Amin, Bhawanigarh.
43. Ram Prashad son of Kishen Chand, Khatri, resident of Talwandi.
44. Dault Ram son of Munshiram, Khatri, Storekeeper Basi, District Amargarh.
45. Dhani Ram, Khatry, resident of Basi, Public Works servant Patiala.
46. Durga Parshad, resident of Basi, Public Works servant, Patiala.

35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. Quoted in *ibid.*
41. Quoted in *ibid.*
42. For full draft of the order see *ibid.*; pp. 230-32.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 286-87.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 232-47.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 227.
47. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 6

Arya Samajists and Unrest in the Army

I

> Aryas are careful not to publish except in a very guarded manner, their political aim which is in short "India for the Indians". . . . They teach the advantages of local self government as carried out in the manner of the old village 'panchayats' with the criticism and vote of all individuals of the community directing such government; following this the idea of general self-government is gradually instilled.
>
> To furnish this aim, criticism of the existing form of Government is freely indulged in, and no means are left unturned to breed discontent in the minds of the people and to foster 'swadeshism', self-help and self-sacrifice.
>
> As it was obvious that the Indian soldiers helped the alien Government to rule the country, the Arya Samaj at first preached against military service. Youngmen, whenever possible, were dissuaded from entering the Army, antipathy to the service was taught in villages and schools, and endeavours were used to make the soldier dissatisfied with his position and pay . . .[1]

This assessment of the Arya Samaj was made by the Army Department, Government of India, on the basis of some concrete material which started coming their way in the northern region, especially after 1890s. For example, Munshi Ram (later Swami Shraddhananda), and Rambhaj Dutt

Chaudhary were reported in 1899 to have spread sedition of the worst type : while canvassing for subscriptions for the *gurukula* Kangri at Gujrat, Sialkot and Gujranwala, they 'spoke against the government in a very mischievous tone, saying among other things that sepoys were foolish enough to enlist on Rs. 7 or 8 per mensem to be killed, but after being carefully taught in the *gurukula* they would know better".[2] Munshi Ram was also reported to have preached in a similar vein in 1903 at Jhang in the same cause.[3] In Jhansi an Arya *upadeshaka*, Daulat Ram, addressed a large meeting which was 'attended by a number of sepoys belonging to a native regiment (6th Jat) and read out to them 'portion of the *Satyartha Prakasha* which contains an 'objectionable passage' ('What a pity that the descendants of these Aryas are being crushed under the heels of the foreigner'). He also gave out that the religion of the Hindus was in danger.[4] In several other regiments, specially those composed of the Jats and other castes belonging to Haryana, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan who were under the influence of the Arya Samaj, Arya *upadeshakas* invariably said such things in their discourses.[5]

These developments caught the attention of the British authorities as soon as they took place and as was expected stern measures were taken 'to nip the evil in the bud'. In consequence, an order was passed and circulated by the Army headquarters that 'no Arya is to be allowed to enter the precincts of regimental barracks.[6]

This was a severe blow to the Arya Samajists. There were protests against the order from all parts of the country. An open letter addressed to the Commander-in-Chief by Munshi Ram echoes, I think, the spirit and gives out the content of these protests and hence a lengthy excerpt from it :

> An order has been circulated in all regiments directing that no Arya is to be allowed to enter the precincts of regimental barracks. I have appealed to His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, and have submitted that the most degraded criminal and the veriest scapegrace stands in need of spiritual solace and consolation. In Europe, anarchists assassinate kings. What offence can be viler than that? But if

one of these criminals be a Roman Catholic and were to appeal to a Protestant Government that he wants a priest of his own persuasion to attend to his spiritual ministrations, his wishes are respected and the request granted. You cannot have forgotten that last year, in compliance with the wishes of a Brahmo anarchist, Pandit Shiv Nath Shastri, a Brahmo Missionary, was allowed to see him and to prepare him for death. *Compare this with the treatment meted out to the Arya Samaj. Arya soldiers—not criminals mind you, are debarred from the inalienable right of human beings to have their Updeshaks with them to provide them with moral sustenance and to cheer them up in dark hours of temptation and weakness.* This is my last appeal to the Commander-in-Chief. I hope that the demands of justice and fair-play will be satisfied and the order based upon false and lying representations or unfortunate misconceptions cancelled.[7]

The protests, it seems, did not carry any weight with the authorities. The unjust order stayed in letter and spirit. Not only that. After some time the following measures were also taken by the commanding officers to check 'the evil influence of the Samaj on the soldiery :[8]

(i) Formation of Arya *sabhas* was forbidden,
(ii) The weekly meetings (*satsangas*) were stopped in the regimental lines.
(iii) The soldiers were forbidden to keep books like *Satyartha Prakasha* and periodicals like *Kesari*, *Jat Hitkari*, etc.
(iv) The wearing of *yajnopavita* (sacred thread) was prohibited.
(v) Eating of meat (forbidden diet for the Aryas) was encouraged.
(vi) The soldiers were prohibited to go to the Samaj and political meetings outside their lines even with 'out passes.'

These measures went a long way to serve the desired purpose. But not to the entire satisfaction of the Army authorities.

Some Arya Samajists with 'advanced views defied the measures without caring for the consequences' and suffered immensely, in most cases by losing their jobs. The example of a first class Hospital Assistant in an Indian Regiment who was an active Arya Samajist will give an idea of such 'sufferings in a noble cause'. This man was asked by his medical officer to resign the membership of the Arya Samaj. "The latter in order to save his subordinate all further trouble prepared the following draft in his own hand-writing to the address of the Secretary of the Arya Samaj of which he was a member . . .

> Sir : I hereby resign my membership of the Arya Samaj and I shall be greatly obliged if you will acknowledge the receipt of this letter of resignation and will inform me in writing from what date my name has been struck off the list of members of the Arya Samaj.

The Hospital Assistant gave a serious thought to the matter and ultimately decided to leave his job rather than 'give up his dharma'. He wrote to the medical officer :

> Sir : I most humbly and respectfully lay before you the following few lines for favour of your kind consideration and forwarding to the proper authorities if you consider necessary.
>
> I have pondered deeply over your verbal orders and the draft of the letter addressed to the Secretary of Arya Samaj. . . . which you so kindly gave me. I beg most respectfully to say in reply that as I am an Arya Samajist by faith since my childhood with all my family members, I will be acting against my conscience if I send in my resignation from the membership of that religious body.
>
> I further beg humbly to urge that as all Government servants are allowed complete freedom in religious matters, you will very kindly see your way to reconsider the matter of kindness I shall ever pray.

As the above request did not meet with favourable consideration, the Hospital Assistant sent in his resignation, not from

the membership of the Arya Samaj but from his service. Wrote he :

> Sir : In connection with my previous petition, in obedience of your today's verbal orders I most humbly beg to submit my resignation from my service, because I cannot conscientiously sever my connection with the Vedic Church (Arya Samaj) of which I am a member from my childhood.[9]

Such 'hard nuts' were found in a number of regiments. In 1906, the commanding officer of the 123rd Rifles approached the Army headquarters with a proposal that the only way to deal with these men was to stop the enlistment of Arya Samajists in the Army.[10] A careful examination of the problem on the part of the authorities convinced them, however, that there were not enough grounds to justify such an extreme action.[11] But at the same time it was emphasised that the British officers must watch the 'effects of the teachings of the Arya Samaj on their men'.[12]

The agitation against the partition of Bengal (1905) and the peasant unrest in Punjab (1907) had profound influence on our national movement. The Arya Samajists, as indicated elsewhere, were in the forefront of both the movements. There was a sort of stir in the armed forces, too, about this time. It was feared that the Arya Samajists were out to create trouble there.

In August 1908 all general officers commanding 'were warned concerning the report that large numbers of (Arya) *sadhus* were on the move to tamper with the Native Army'.[13] In May 1909 the Criminal Intelligence Department reported that efforts by the various Arya Samajas 'were being directed towards securing the attendance of Native Officers and men of the Native Army at all their meetings in places where troops were stationed'. The commanding officers were warned 'to be on their guard and prevent their men from attending such meetings'. Severe actions were taken against the Arya Samajists who flouted these resolutions as the following report shows :

> In July (1909) two reports of activity on the part of the Arya Samaj in this respect were received as having taken place during May. One at Kohat where some sepoys of the

12th Infantry took active part in a meeting of that society. The second case had occurred in the 125th Rifles at Bangalore where, as subsequently came to the commanding officer's knowledge, at a farewell entertainment given in the lines to a Subedar who was being sent on pension partly on account of the fact that he was an avowed 'Arya' . . .

In August last a report was received that a Jat sepoy of the 94th Russell's Infantry, at Baroda, who has been known for 2 years to be a member of the Arya Samaj, on return from furlough had shown great activity in attempting to spread the tenets of his society in the Regiment. The man took his discharge when this came to notice. A considerable amount of literature relating to the Arya Samaj and in some cases containing seditious matter was also reported to have been in circulation amongst the Jats of this Regiment. . . .

Lately the case of sedition in the 10th Jats has come to light and it is understood that some, if not all, of the men implicated are Aryas.[14]

II

The case of the 10th Jat referred to above, was very serious and caused great consternation among the army authorities. This regiment had been a mixed regiment of Hindus (Brahmans, and Rajputs) and Muhammadans, but in 1892 it was formed into a 'class regiment' of Jats from Hissar, Rohtak and Jind which were centres of Arya Samaj.[15] As a result, a large bulk of the sepoys in the regiment were either active Arya Samajists or they sympathised with the Samaj. This explains how in spite of opposition of their officers, these men could hold meetings under the auspices of the Samaj in their lines. This practice did not last long, however, because the authorities treated these meetings in the lines as 'highly objectionable' and forbade the sepoys from holding them. The sepoys swallowed the bitter pill. They gave up holding meetings in their lines and started going out to the city to attend the weekly *satsangs* there. Even this was not liked by the authorities who forbade their attending the *satsangs* altogether. This was intolerable for the sepoys but they bore with it for the time being.[16]

In 1904 the regiment was shifted to Kanpur. Taking advantage of the engagements of their officers at the new station, the Arya activists again started the practice of holding weekly *satsangs*. But no sooner had they done that than the authorities forbade them to hold them. Not only that. The sepoys were ordered not to keep books like *Satyartha Prakasha* etc. with them in the lines.[17] The patriotic fire burning in the hearts of the sepoys was thus extinguished outwardly. But inside, it was still smouldering. For instance, in 1905, when the northern region came in the grip of the *swadeshi* movement, a number of sepoys took part in the meetings held to preach *swadeshi* in Kanpur. In September of the same year, sepoy Surjan Singh, their leader, was reported by the police for attending a *swadeshi* meeting and subscribing to its funds. He was punished for this indiscipline.[18] The following year meetings of the 10th Jats and 10th Hodson's Horse were held in infantry lines; books like *Satyartha Prakasha* were read; and newspapers of a political character were taken in, such as the *Kesari*, *Jat Samachar*, and *Jat Hitkari*.[19] Lajpat Rai gave a lecture at Kanpur in the cold weather of 1907. Many Sepoys of the Jat regiment attended the lecture.[20]

This was a little too much for the authorities to bear with; and they asked the Arya activists to leave the Samaj and part with sacred thread. Many people obliged their officers. But there were others who were made of stronger fibre. They wrote anonymous letters to the Commander-in-Chief seeking his intervention against 'their religious persecution'. When this did not yield any positive result, about a dozen of them came out in the open to oppose this arbitrary action of the authorities. Naik Jot Ram, the most vocal of them all, was court-martialled for insubordination and sent to jail. Ram Gopal, ward orderly, was discharged from service, and ten others 'were suitably punished'.[21]

In February 1908, the regiment was shifted to Alipore. The Arya Samajists were very active at the new place; and they formed links with the sepoys right at once. One Seth Chhaju Ram,[22] a Jat multi-millionaire businessman from Alakhpura in district Hissar from where the bulk of the sepoys came, was the connecting chain between the two parties. Chhaju Ram says that the commanding officer of the regiment, not only

entertained them (the sepoys and J.C.Os), their wives and families, but had also driven to the lines to visit them several times. The fact that this had not been reported made me suspicious, as the native officers generally like reporting the arrival of any influential friend. . . .[23] Chhaju Ram was reported to have impressed on the officers Jat Junior commissioned (J.C.O.'s) that they should always keep in mind that "when men of the regiment were guarding prisoners at Alipore jail, they were guarding their own brothers".[24]

After some time the regiment went to Midnapore for training. As many as 39 detectives were posted by the local police to keep watch on them. The Criminal Intelligence Department sent an extra detective for this purpose. Despite all this, however, the sepoys did their work. Says Brigadier-General Cowans, who enquired into the matter later in this regard:

> Some men of the 10th Jats had been entertained in the houses of some extremists in Midnapore and shown an exhibition of sword-play; that some of the heads of the extremist party had been seen visiting the 10th Jats in their camp; and that some of the 10th Jats had been taken to see Khudiram Bose's house and had refused to give their names to a police sub-inspector who found them there.[25] He further added that he was informed by the commanding officer of the regiment that 'certain of his men were entertained by the raja of Midnapore, so notorious in the bomb case, and who narrowly escaped transportation for life'.[26]

The junior commissioned officers of the regiment were at least in sympathy if not in league with the seditious sepoys. This is borne out by the following observation of the Brigadier-General, which he made while discussing the regimental C.O's behaviours:

> On questioning him (C.O. of the 10th Jat) regarding what was going on in the regiment, I ascertained that his Subedar-Major and other native officers were of practically no assistance to him in keeping him informed of anything undesirable (i.e., in the sedition line) that was going on, and he seemed to be entirely dependent for such information on

> a Muhammadan Hospital Assistant and his regimental schoolmaster (a havildar). This procedure seemed to me very unusual and I told him so, and, further, that I considered that a Subedar-Major and native officers who so little fulfilled their duty were not worth keeping in the battalion.[27]

After the annual exercises were over the regiment came back to Alipur, their headquarters in December 1909. Although the intelligence net was tightened around the regiment about this time, yet the Arya activists did their job very efficiently. They visited the Arya Samaj *mandir* (temple) regularly and formed links with the Bengal revolutionaries. The authorities had no knowledge of their doings. A few of them even went to the extent of joining a secret revolutionary society which had its branches at Kiddarpur and Shibpur (Calcutta). Sarat Chandra Mitter, Suresh Chandra Mitter, Bhuban Mohan Mukherji, Kristo Bhan (alias Bhutan) Mukherji, Narendra Nath Chatterji, Lalit Mohan Chakravarty and Nani Gopal Gupta were the Bengali revolutionaries who had induced them to do so.[28]

What was this secret society like which the sepoys had joined? And what were its aims and objectives? Answers to these questions can be had from the following oath which the sepoys took on the occasion of joining the society :

1. From today, I am initiated to be a member of this society, and so long as the liberation of the motherland is not effected, I shall continue to be a member of this society and work for the welfare of my country.
2. I do not become a member of this society under the influence of any evil motive.
3. If I have any ill-feeling or quarrel with any member of the society, I shall sincerely make that up as ordered by the leader, and I shall look upon the other members of the society as my brothers.
4. I shall work under the orders of the leader; I shall obey him in whatever he orders without any questioning and take his orders to be such as can never be disobeyed.
5. Without the permission of the leader, I shall not disclose any secret matter in connection with this

society to any one, not even to any other member of the society.

6. If I voluntarily do any thing which is against the interests of the society, I shall gladly take any punishment inflicted by the leader, or by his orders.
7. I shall not marry so long as I shall be a member of the society.
8. After taking the *Gita*, fire, sword or dagger, and Ganges water, I take this oath, with God as my witness, that so long as I live I shall continue to be a member of this society. If I voluntarily desert, then on the orders of the leader, any member can take my life as a punishment. For that he shall not be responsible to God.
9. If I disobey any of these commandments, may my ancestors go to hell, and may I be guilty of drinking my mother's blood.[29]

Before the sepoys and the revolutionaries could do anything worthwhile, one of them Lalit Mohan Chakravarty exposed a plot hatched by the men of the 10th Jat and the revolutionaries. The plot, one of the most dangerous conspiracies ever hatched by revolutionaries, was as follows :

> During the Christmas holidays in 1909, a ball was to be held at the residence of the Bengal Governor to which the Viceroy, Commander-in-Chief and all the high-ranking officers and officials of Calcutta were to be invited. The 10th Jat Regiment was to do sentry duty during the ball. The undercover patriotic organisation which had established contact with the soldiers decided to take advantage of this convenient ball to blow up the ballroom and thus destroy the colonial Government. As the Consul wrote, it had been intended to "arouse in the country a general perturbation of minds and thereby afford the revolutionaries an opportunity to take the power in their hands".
>
> The police had suspected nothing, and it is hard to say what the outcome would have been had the soldiers not been betrayed by one of their comrades who informed the authorities about the impending coup.[30]

The British government was shocked to hear of such a serious conspiracy and they at once took stringent measures against the culprits who were 42 in number. They were tried by a military court-martial whose proceedings were kept highly confidential. Surprisingly, however, these were leaked to the Russian Embassy which made them public through their paper *Zemschina*, which wrote that

> the sepoys had conducted themselves with great poise at the trial. They declared that they had joined a revolutionary union set up by Bengali patriots and were aware of the fact that this union wanted to overthrow British rule in India. They declared that they had taken an oath of allegiance to maintain unity and were duty-bound to help conduct revolutionary agitation among the troops. One of the accused told the judge : "Don't think there are only 25 such sepoys. Oh no! There are many such sepoys and the fate of British domination in India is in our hands!" The English court imposed severe penalties upon the arrested soldiers.[31]

The details of the punishment inflicted upon the revolutionary soldiers were as follows: By the order of the Commander-in-Chief, Hav. Chuni Lal and Sepoy Surjan Singh were dealt with summarily (summary court-martial under the Indian Articles of War) and sentenced to be imprisoned with hard labour for one year and to be discharged from the service. Besides them, 23 Non-Commissioned Officers and men out of 145 who might apparently have been implicated, or whose characters were doubtful, were summarily dismissed. On 31 January, the battalion was sent in the *R.I.M.S. Northbrook* for Karachi.

Besides these steps, Brigadier-General Cowans very strongly recommended that the constitution of the 10th Jat be changed :

> From all that I have heard recently, he said, the area of country from which they are recruited appears to possess an unusual number of leading members of the extremist or seditionist sections of the community, and there is little doubt that these men are holding out large pecuniary and other inducements to men in the native army to join what is

meant to be a serious movement to attempt the downfall of the British Empire in India.

A class regiment is peculiarly amenable to such attempts, and one in which it is very hard to ascertain what is going on. With a change of constitution would naturally come a transfer of certain of the British officers, some of whom cannot be altogether absolved of negligence in the matter of not keeping their native officers up to date. Especially is this so in the case of Lieutenant-Colonel Pressey, who says little or nothing of what steps he took to keep himself informed of what was going on in a battalion, which to his own knowledge, apparently, had been toying with sedition for many years and which in the light of the many warnings issued to Commanding Officers from Army Head Quarters during the years 1906-08, evidently required special attention. His complaint that the civil authorities did not inform him that outsiders were likely to attempt to tamper with the fidelity of his men can hardly be justified after receipt of these warnings, and after he himself had, in 1908, to convict a havildar clerk of insubordination, due to outside influence of a political nature (vide his report under 1908).[32]

Lt.-Col. Pressey was sent on forced retirement for his negligent behviour. The subedar-major was also sent on pension. All the subedars i.e. company commanders, were summarily discharged from service with such pensions or gratuities to which they were entitled. The recruiting of the 10th Jat was confined 'to Jats enlisted under the recruiting officer for Rajputana and central India with a view to introducing other classes than those which have lately shown signs of disaffection'.[33]

III

That was not the end of the story, however. The problem of the 10th Jat was resolved, but the bug of the Arya Samaj was not killed. It was an immensely dangerous community for which there could not have been any place, at least in the Army. The Commander-in-Chief, therefore, moved in the matter. He wrote a very strong note on 22 March 1910 on the question

recommending to the Army Department that notification be issued putting a blanket ban on the recruitment of Arya Samajists in the Army. But before that was done, he said, the permission of the Government of India be sought. In consequence, the matter was submitted to the Home Department.

The Home Department gave a serious thought to the question and advised against taking any such step in haste. There would be a lot of opposition to such a measure, they said. Representations would be sent to the government, memorials would be addressed to the secretary of state, and questions would be asked in the Parliament against such a measure. It was necessary, therefore, that before agreeing to such a proposal, they got hold of definite evidence supporting such an action. The Home Department, it seems, had grown wiser from their experience gained from Lajpat Rai's case. They had no sufficient grounds to deport the Lion of the Punjab and as such had to eat the humble pie when there were protests against their action in and outside Parliament. They did not want to repeat the same mistake.[34]

"To be on surer ground before such a bomb is exploded" the Home Department thought it proper to seek the opinion of the governments of Punjab and Uttar Pradesh on the question. In consequence, express communications were sent to them. The two governments took serious note of the problem and gave their considered opinion. The Punjab government said :

> Unless the Army authorities have very definite proof that Arya Samaj as a body is teaching sedition in the Army, the Lt.-Governor would deprecate any direct action against the society as a whole and would deal with individual cases as they occur i.e. anyone when found to be seditious, should be dismissed.[35]

The Uttar Pradesh Government also thought likewise. "It would be a mistake", they said, "to proscribe the whole Samaj". The Lt.-Governor expressed his inability to accept the proposal put forth by the Commander-in-Chief.[35]

The Viceroy agreed with the observation of the home department and the governments of Punjab and U.P. He

considered it inadvisable to proscribe the entire Arya Samaj for being seditious. It was left to the army department to tackle the problem of recruitment of undesirable elements in the Army thoughtfully.

Accordingly, the C-in-C devised a novel remedy to the problem. Addressing an Army Order to all the General Officers Commanding divisions and independent brigades and all recruiting officers, he observed :

> In view of the maintenance of discipline, good order and loyalty in the Indian Army and to prevent discord and dissension arising among the Native ranks, it is desired all Commanding Officers and Recruiting Officers to carry out the po'icy of Government in carefully restricting the enlistment in units to the classes duly authorised to form their composition. To illustrate this I am to point out that as in a Hindu Rajput Company Mohammedan Rajputs are not enlisted and as Brahmins who are Sikhs are not eligible for regiments enlisting Brahmins, so in the case of companies for which Jats are authorised, steps should be taken to prevent the enlistment of Jats who have changed their religion to that of the Sikhs, Vishnois, Brahmo Samajists, Arya-Samajists, or of any other sect, and this rule should be applied to all classes enlisted in the Indian Army.[37]

Thus the enlistment of Arya Samajists was forbidden in the Army. This practice continued all through the period under study. No relaxation was made even during the first world war, 1914-18, when they were in dire need of recruits, as the following letter written to *The Tribune* by Sir Chhotu Ram, an eminent Jat Leader of Rohtak, on 8 May 1917 shows :

> The other day, an Arya Samajist offered himself for enlistment in the Army. He was asked to put off his sacred thread as a condition precedent. He refused to comply with his demand, and was rejected in consequence.[38]

References

1. Home political (Conf.) Deposit, No. 7, August 1910.
2. C.E.W. Sands, *Arya Samaj* in U.P., pp. 42-43.
3. *Ibid.*
4. For details see Munshi Ram and Ramadeva, *The Arya Samaj & its Detractors*, pp. 271-76.
5. See chapter 2.
6. Munshi Ram and Ramadeva, *loc. cit.*, p. 108.
7. *Ibid.* (Italics mine).
8. *Ibid.*
9. Munshi Ram and Ramadeva, *loc. cit.*
10. Home Political (conf.) No. 7, August 1910.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. See, for instance, the following report from the deputy commissioner, Hissar, the most important recruiting district for the 10th Jat :

    "The Arya Samaj is not a religious body, it is a purely political association, and the policy pursued in this district is to foster discontent by raising up imaginary grievances and wherever any real grievance exists, to magnify it a hundred fold. In short, the preaching of discontent among the peasantry is the line chiefly taken. . . A more or less organized system of Arya preachers itinerating in village schools does exist, and the village schools are favourite places of theirs for the preaching, of late a strongly organized crusade in favour of Arya Samaj was made under the directions of Lajpat Rai who is himself of Hissar. At the schools, at the mills. . . . and later in the villages on return on leave or furlough the recruit and the sepoy have daily opportunities of hearing the tenets of the Arya Samaj. . . a purely political body". Vide Home Political (conf.), Deposit, No. 7, August 1910.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. He was treasurer of the Calcutta Arya Samaj.
23. Home Political (conf.), Deposit, No. 7, August 1910.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 281-82.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Home Political (conf.) Deposit, No. 7, August 1910.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *The Tribune*, 8 May 1917.

CHAPTER 7

Arya Samaj and the Congress Movement

There was a distinct political awakening in India in the first half of the 19th century aroused by a variety of factors, such as economic exploitation, social discrimination, political oppression and cultural devaluation by the colonial regime, and the forces of modernization.[1] Despite their best efforts, Indians could not forge in this period a powerful instrument that could make effective use of this awakening in getting their wishes, political, economic and cultural, fulfilled. Nevertheless, it is heartening that they did not yield to despair and kept on fighting hard until they succeeded in 1885 in creating a strong forum, 'liberal in spirit, political in bent, and national in scope,' fit enough to realize their aims and aspirations.

The story of the creation, organization and functioning of this powerful instrument of national good—the Indian National Congress— is indeed highly interesting.[2] But it is beyond our scope to relate it here : our purpose here is limited to highlighting the role played by the Arya Samaj there.

It was some time in April 1885 that A.O. Hume,[3] a retired British civil servant, sent a circular to enlightened Indians saying among other things that 'a conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December, 1885'.[4]

After some time the venue of the Conference was changed to Bombay because of the outbreak of cholera in Poona.[5]

About 73 delegates from all over India reached Bombay on 27th December 1885. They were given a grand reception by the organizers.

"During the whole day (says the official reporter) and far into the night of the 27th, informal discussions were carried out between the representatives and the proceedings of the next three days were settled".[6] Next day, the deliberations of the Congress began at 12 o'clock noon in the Hall of the Tejpal Gokuldas Sanskrit College. As many as 73 representatives[7] from different parts of the country taking part in them 'presented a solemn and imposing spectacle'. A very interesting account of some of those 'Great Sons' of India is given by A.C. Majumdar, that eminent scholar and early 'devoted friend and admirer of the Congress':

There sat Mr. Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee, the Doyen of the Calcutta Bar and the first Indian Standing Counsel in a chartered High Court, in his tall and graceful figure with broad forehead and beaming eyes calmly awaiting in his firm attitude and sober dignity the great and unique honour which all the provinces were about to confer in his person upon their eldest sister Province of Bengal. There was that slim but godly figure shining like a chiselled marble statue, short in stature but colossal in intellectual equipments whose national turban considerably made up for his height and in whom nature seemed to have wonderfully blended the dwarf and the giant, the Grand Old Man of India, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. There sat that intrepid journalist in his flowing hairs reaching down to his broad shoulders... the brave editor of the *Indian Mirror*, Mr. Narendra Nath Sen. There were those two out of that bright constellation who formed a happy conjunction combining patriotism of the three rising stars of the Western Presidency with sobriety, enthusiasm and moderation of three different races— Messrs Kashinath Trimbak Telang and Pherozeshah Mancharjee Mehta, while the position of the third was not unworthily filled by another luminous member of his race, Mr. Rahimatulla Sayani. There sat beside the Grand Old Man that well-posted statistician and indefatigable worker who has never flagged in his zeal and devotion during the lifetime of a generation in the service of the Congress, Mr. Dinshaw Eduljee Wacha. There was that unostentatious, silent worker who was behind almost every public movement in the United Provinces... Mr. Gangaprasad Varma; while

> from the Punjab there was that quaint and caustic critic whose familiar face has seldom been missed in any of the subsequent congresses, Lala Murlidhar.[8] There also sat that level-headed, sober yet keen-sighted veteran lawyer, Rangiah Naidu, the respected President of the Mahajan Sabha, supported by the noble band composed of Messrs Subramania Iyer, Ananda Charlu, Veeraraghavachariar, G. Subramania Iyer and Sabapathi Mudaliar of whom Madras has been ever so justly proud. There came from Poona Krishnaji Luxman Nulkar, the President and Sitaram Hari Chiplonkar, Secretary of the Sarvajanik Sabha, who but for the unfortunate accident already noticed would have had the honour of being the host to the delegates to the first session of the Indian National Congress; and, above all, there sat the Father of the Congress, who had refused a Lieutenant-Governorship to serve a people, beaming with anxious joy and hope at the birth of his own child and inspiring and moving all with the magnetic current of his own ardent soul— Mr. Allan Octavian Hume.[9]

W.C. Bonnerjee,[10] President of the Congress in his 'short and condensed' presidential address laid down the following objectives for the organisation :[11]

(1) The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst organisation. He exhorted his 'chosen countrymen to translate these aims into a reality'. Happily, the response that he got was quite encouraging.

During the course of three days (28— 30 December) a great deal of 'serious business' was transacted by the first national assembly of the Congressmen. Nine resolutions were passed demanding (i) enquiry into the working of the Indian administration by a Royal Committee; (ii) the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of the State as at present constituted; (iii) the reform and expansion of the Imperial and local legislative councils, and submission of budget to them, (iv) holding of the I.C.S. examination in India and England; (v) the reduction of military expenditure; (vi) the re-imposition of import custom duties and extension of the licence

> tax together with an imperial guarantee to the Indian debt; and (vii) separation of Burma from India. In the eighth resolution an appeal was made to take the message of the Congress to all parts of the country. In the ninth and the last resolution the venue of the next session of the Congress was decided.[12]

As regards the contribution of the Arya Samaj to the above *yajna* it is heartening to note that one of its leaders was not only present at the 'ceremony' but also took prominent part in its deliberations. This leader was Babu Murlidhar of Ambala. Out of the total eight resolutions passed on the occasion, he spoke on two—resolutions 3 and 8—of them. Supporting resolution no. 3, he said :

> The previous speakers had spoken of the existing Legislative Councils as 'shams', but in the N.W. Provinces and the Punjab even these 'shams' had no existence. There, it is supposed, that officials not mixing with the people, knowing little of their wants and wishes were nevertheless representatives of the people. This will not do. We must have real direct representatives and then we shall be able to minimise the influence of the men who are not true representatives of the people.[13]

While moving resolution no. 8, Murlidhar showed accurate perception of the problems to come in the way of the newly born organisation. He warned his fellow delegates that right from the beginning they

> must take some steps to give effect to the resolutions passed. Their opponents were sure to misrepresent and perhaps vilify them. And, therefore, it was necessary that the opinion of the intelligentsia classes among their countrymen should be brought out upon all the subjects discussed by the Congress.[14]

Murlidhar was proved right by the later developments : although nefarious propaganda began to be made by the vested interests against the Congress from the very beginning, the

venom of 'calumny and misrepresentation' was let loose after 1887. People like Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan,[15] Theodore Beck,[16] Raja Udai Pratab Singh,[17] and a host of British bureaucrats were highly critical of the Congress and wished its death. Thanks to the heroic but at the same time wise efforts of the early moderate leaders like Murlidhar, their hopes were belied.

> There is an interesting anecdote about the closing of the session (30 December). When almost the last part of the proceedings was over, Murlidhar said loudly that he had to make 'a charge of theft and robbery'. Almost every one was stunned. Great consternation prevailed all around for a while. But the very next moment the bearded lawyer from Haryana brought the house down with laughter by stating that 'the hosts had stolen his heart'.[18]

II

Murlidhar stayed in Bombay for a week after the inaugural session of the Congress. He spent this time in seeing historic places, meeting people, and discussing with them problems, political, social, economic and cultural. He, according to his own admission, 'benefited a great deal by his stay in the *mahanagari* (great city)'.[19]

Back home in the second week of January, he immersed himself in his routine work. He was not his old self, however. Earlier, he had two loves, legal practice and social service. The Bombay visit took him in another direction—politics. Now all his energies were concentrated on one thing—the Indian National Congress. He would go lyrical while talking about it. "The Congress is a child—a precious child at that", he would say with a touch of emotion, "which has been entrusted to our care by the Indian National Union which, like the proverbial crab mother, has died after delivering it. It is our bounden duty to nurse and nourish this precious little thing with utmost care".[20]

Murlidhar made strenuous efforts 'to sell' the Congress to his people. The task was difficult. But he accomplished it— in the third week of January 1886 he succeeded in establishing a branch of the new organization at Ambala.[21] This was the first

branch of the Congress to have been opened not only in Haryana or Punjab but perhaps in the whole of the country. Several leading citizens of Ambala became its members. Among these Duni Chand (1873-1965), another Arya Samajist, topped the list.

In 1888, another enlightened Arya activist from this region, Lala Lajpat Rai, took up the work of the Congress at Hissar. He had been practising here as a lawyer since 1886[22] and had a large circle of friends who were mostly Arya Samajists. Of them Chandu Lal Churamani, Ramji Lal, Lakhpat Rai, Chhabil Dass and Gauri Shankar were of great help to him in his work.[23] As a result of their efforts the Congress took strong roots in Hissar. Probably, this was the first town in Haryana or for that matter even in Punjab, where public meetings of the Congress were organized on a big scale. In the words of Lajpat Rai himself: "Several public meetings were held in support of the Indian National Congress at Hissar which were addressed by speakers from outside. Hundreds of people attended these meetings." This is significant when viewed in the light of the fact that contemporary Hissar was not "a big town, and including its suburbs, does not contain more than 15,000 souls".[24]

After Hissar came Rohtak. Through the efforts of Lajpat Rai and his old Arya Samajist friends like Piru Singh, Matu Ram, Baldev Singh, Sham Lal and Ramji Lal, a branch of the Congress was also opened at Rohtak, in about 1889.[25] However, the Congress ideology and programme did not spread to other districts, for Arya Samaj was very weak there.

In sum, we can say that in Haryana it was the Arya Samaj that was responsible for the spread of Congress. Its activists took it (the Congress) to the people. Table 7.1 which lists early leaders of the Congress in different districts of the state will bring out this truth very clearly :

Table 7.1 also shows that in Ambala district there were three leaders who worked for the Congress in its early phase. Of these two belonged to Arya Samaj. The story in Rohtak and Sonepat is even more in favour of Arya Samaj : of the five early leaders of the Congress all belonged to Arya Samaj. In Hissar, Bhiwani and Sirsa the Aryas supplied six out of eight leaders.

Table 7.1 : Early Leadership of the Congress in Haryana[26]

Name	Caste	Education	Influenced by	Profession
Ambala District				
1. Murlidhar (1848-1922)	Bania	B.A., LL.B	Arya Samaj	Legal Practice
2. Duni Chnd (1873-1965)	Khatri	B.A., LL.B	Arya Samaj	Legal Practice
3. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (1888-1976)	Muslim Rajput	Primary	—	Agriculture
Rohtak and Sonepat Districts				
4. Matu Ram (1872-1942)	Jat	Primary	Arya Samaj	Agriculture
5. Sham Lal (1883-1940)	Bania	B.A, LL.B	Arya Samaj	Business : Legal Practice
6. Piru Singh	Jat	Middle	Arya Samaj	Agriculture
7. Ramji Lal (1860-1942)	Jat	L.S.M.F.	Arya Samaj	Medical Practice
8. Baldev Singh (1889-)	Jat	B.A., B.T.	Arya Samaj	Teaching
Hissar, Bhiwani and Sirsa Districts				
9. K.A. Desai (1878-1972)	Brahman	B.A.	Sanatan Dharma	Service Journalism
10. Churamani (1862-)	Bania	B.A., LL.B	Arya Samaj	Legal Practice
11. Neki Ram Sharma (1887-1956)	Brahmana	Matric	Sanatan Dharma	Politics
12. Lakhpat Rai	Bania	B A. LL.B	Arya Samaj	
13. Gauri Shankar	Bania	Matric	Arya Samaj	Business
14. Chhabil Das	Bania	Matric	Arya Samaj	Business
15. Chandu Lal (1846-1909)	Bania	Literate	Arya Samaj	Business
16. Sham Lal (1878-1957)	Bania	B.A., LL.B.	Arya Samaj	Legal Practice.

The situation improved still further when the *Swadeshi* movement was launched in 1905 in the wake of the partition of Bengal. As far as Haryana was concerned, by a rough estimate about 90 per cent of the Swadeshi propaganda and work was carried out by Arya Samajists. Especially the Samaj *pracharakas* (preachers) took the new message of the Congress to every nook and cranny of the state. As a result, the purchasing and consumption of the foreign goods dwindled here as is seen in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 : Decline in the Purchase of Foreign goods in Haryana[27]

District	Foreign goods purchased in 1905 (in Rs.)	Foreign goods purchased in 1907 (in Rs.)
Ambala	25,000	10,000
Karnal	16,000	8,000
Rohtak	17,000	*
Gurgaon	11,000	*
Hissar	10,000	4,000

*Figures not available.

As elswhere in Punjab, even the government's toughness towards nationalists in 1907 when Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh Arya[28] were deported, did not demoralize the Arya activists here. Lajpat Rai himself admits this in his autobiographical memoirs. Writing about Chandu Lal, the Arya activist of Hissar, for instance, he says :

> Lala Chandu Lal stood the test when in 1907 the Government deported me. . . . He never disowned me. For two years all my papers were in his custody. He always said to the officials "I am a friend of Lajpat Rai". . . . At a time when innumerable friends had left me, he stood by me. After my return from deportation, I stayed with him several times. . . . Even when I was a prisoner at Mandalay we were exchanging letters. Those were the days when some very dear friends avoided, and even forsook me. . . . But Lala Chandu Lal carried all the obligations of friendship openly and manfully.[29]

Lakhpat Rai, Churamani, Jaswant Rai, Ramji Lal and other Arya activists of Hissar also behaved likewise.[30] In Ambala, the 'Grand Old Man of Punjab' Lala Murlidhar stood erect and held the flag of the Congress high. In Rohtak Matu Ram, Piru Singh and Baldev Singh did the same.[31] In other parts of the state the Congress was weak because the Samaj was weak.

Like Haryana, Arya Samaj was quite strong in Punjab. But as far as Aryas' contribution to the Congress movement was concerned, things were not as good there as in Haryana. This was owing to the fact that from the very beginning the Congress in the Land of the Five Rivers was manned chiefly by the Brahmos led by Shiv Narain Agnihotri, 'a stauch enemy' of the Aryas, and Harkishan Lal, their rival in fields more than one. An Arya activist Bakshi Jaisi Ram, an associate of Dayal Singh Majithia, a Brahmo liberal leader, did no doubt turn towards the newly founded national organization, but senior Samaj leaders like Lala Mul Raj, a confidant of Swami Dayananda, tried to push him away, for in the words of Lala Lajpat Rai, Mul Raj thought that

> the Congress has been founded by a few Englishmen and as Englishmen love their own country it is not possible that the Congress would win political freedom for India. The English derive great benefits from their governance of India; it is impossible that they should willingly restore India to freedom. Being afraid lest the intelligentsia should organise a strong political movement aimed at England's supremacy, they had provided this innocuous occupation for the intelligentsia so that they might gratify themselves by two or three days of speechifying and by seeing themselves eulogised in the papers. In those days this gentleman looked upon every Englishman as an enemy of India. There was no doubt, therefore, in his mind that the Congress had been brought into existence by some Englishmen who wanted to keep Indians busy with a harmless preoccupation. He regarded the Congress not merely as useless, but even detrimental to the interests of India. In his view what was necessary was that Indians should make themselves stronger by education, by the spread of Swadeshi, and by smuggling

> of arms and then bide their time till they might be strong enough to turn out the English.[32]

His other argument was that joining the Congress would 'make the Britishers suspicious of the Hindus and they would, therefore, harm them in all possible ways'. Lala Sain Das and Lala Lal Chand, two other top leaders of the Samaj, also thought likewise.[33]

The exhortations of the leadership kept the Aryas away from the Congress, but not for long. The younger generation who were full of patriotic enthusiasm could not contain themselves and plunged into it in 1888, despite the warning of their elders not to do so. These defiant youths were led by Lala Lajpat Rai and Mahatma Munshi Ram.

Why did the youth leaders join the Congress movement in 1888? Let us get the answer to this question from the two leaders themselves. Lajpat Rai explains his joining thus :

> Whilst at Hissar I found the Congress looming large in the papers. The Madras session presided over by Badrud-din Tyabji impressed me greatly. I got some Congress literature and read it. About this time were published two pamphlets by Mr. Hume, entitled Star of the East and An Old Man's Hope. I have yet to come across in Congress literature another brace of pamphlets as good as these. The wave of liberty surged through their pages and they impressed me profoundly.[34]

Mahatma Munshi Ram's explanation is as follows :

> In 1888 A.D. I came in somewhat close contact with the national movement. The session of the Congress was to be held in the last week of December 1888 at Allahabad. Kali Babu, sub-editor of the Lahore *Tribune*, was deputed to establish a Congress Committee at Jalandhar city where I was practising as a Pleader. Kali Babu was a friend of mine and an Arya Samajist. . . .I was appointed Secretary of the Congress Committee.[35]

Inspired by their two young leaders, the Aryas joined the Congress movement in good numbers. This explains their

relatively weightier representation at the Allahabad session of the Congress in 1888. But, unfortunately, the two Arya leaders could not remain in the Congress for long. They were opposed by their Brahmo rivals at every step—so much so that they had to quit the organisation no sooner than they had joined it. Says Munshi Ram in this regard :

> The first experience was not happy : in the very next meeting of the executive committee I was disgusted and resigned from the secretary's office. There was no link (with the Congress) for five years or so.[36]

Lajpat Rai had almost a similar experience. But his exit was also owing to something else. Says he :

> By 1889. . . the enthusiasm about the Congress began to cool down. The 1889 session held in Bombay was presided over by Mr. Bradlaugh. There I had the privilege of seeing both Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Hume. But rather an unfavourable impression was left on my mind. I somehow began to feel that the Congress leaders cared more for fame and pomp than for the interests of the country. But this was only a vague feeling which I could not explain articulately. However, after 1889, I did not attend any session of the Congress up till 1892.[37]

There was a change in 1893. Bakshi Jaisi Ram had by now reached the first echelon of the Congress leadership and had begun to have his say in almost every matter connected with the organization. He persuaded his two friends along with their followers to come back to the Congress. They agreed to do so. And so did hundreds of others.

This was a very healthy development and the morale of the Punjab Congressmen was so much boosted that they called the plenary session of the Congress at Lahore (1893). Says a contemporary about these developments :

> I was present at the Allahabad Congress in 1892 when it was decided to invite the Congress to the Punjab. No prominent leaders of the Arya Samaj were present. Sardar Dayal Singh

Majithia was asked by telegram whether he approved the proposal and he replied that he would abide by the decision of the Punjab delegates. He would, of course, prove a tower of strength but all the same the Punjabis present at Allahabad felt somewhat nervous. In the Subjects Committee, it was suggested that propaganda work should be carried on in the Punjab to create enthusiasm for the Congress. Raja Rampal Singh Kalakankar, Oudh and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya readily offered to tour the Punjab to rouse public opinion. But no one was in a position to anticipate the decision of the Arya Samaj to which most of the educated Hindus of the Punjab belonged. No secret could be made of the fact that Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia, who was a member of the Brahmo Samaj and gave liberal contributions to various other religions and other bodies, had held himself aloof from the Arya Samaj and no deputation from that body had ever asked the Sardar for a donation. The formal invitation to the Congress to meet at Lahore in December, 1893 was offered by a pleader from Amritsar, who happened to be the oldest Punjabi present.

On our return to Lahore we started work by putting out cautious feelers to ascertain the attitude of the leaders of the Arya Samaj. The result was both surprising and gratifying. The great majority of Mahommedans had everywhere declined to join the Congress and in the Punjab this reluctance was even more marked. On the other hand, the members of the Arya Samaj readily responded to the invitation to join the Congress. Most of the members of the Reception Committee were Arya Samajists, the Secretary was a prominent member of the Arya Samj. Lajpat Rai was not an office-bearer, but he made a profound impression by his lectures and helped actively in the collection of funds. Dadabhai Naoroji was the President and both as regards attendance and finance the Congress was most successful. In a few years Lajpat Rai became the leading Congressman in the Punjab.[38]

After the 1893 Lahore session, factional strife again raised its ugly head. Harkishan Lal and his associates maltreated the Aryas. Besides this, Harkishan faction reduced the Congress

into an inactive organisation. Nor was the central command of the Congress any shade better. As a result, Aryas began to lose interest in the national organisation, as the following words of Mahatma Hans Raj indicate :

(1) The Congress is more fond of show than of work. Although all the delegates who take part in its annual gatherings claim to represent the masses, very few of them take the trouble of ascertaining the wants and requirements of their supposed constituents. At least one hundred Congress-wallas should devote their entire time to the service of the masses, and work night and day to ameliorate the latter's condition. It is true that public opinion in every country is represented by the educated community, yet it is very necessary that community should be in touch with the masses.

(2) The Congress slavishly imitates the methods of political warfare in vogue in Europe, with the result that several young Congressionists have come to believe that hypocrisy and deception are inseparable from politics.

(3) Although Muhammadan sympathy with the Congress is only nominal, every year a number of Musalman vagabonds are got hold of and made to stump on the Congress platform. The Editor does not mean to say that no Muhammadan sympathizes with the objects of the Congress; on the contrary, he can assert without fear of contradiction that the entire population of India fully approves of these. It is that body's methods of work which are disliked by certain Hindus and the majority of the Musalmans. The Congresswallas should try to win over such people to their side, instead of ignoring their very existence.

(4) The practice of disallowing delegates to propose amendments to the draft resolutions laid before a meeting of the Congress is also highly objectionable.

(5) The speeches made by the delegates are not faithfully reproduced in Congress newspapers. Were they published as they are delivered, the speakers would carefully weigh their words before opening their lips.

(6) The money, time and energy spent on Congress meetings are hardly commensurate with the poor results obtained.[39]

Despite all these things, however, Bakhshi Jaisi Ram did not like the Aryas' approach of keeping away from the Congress and strove hard to bring them back to its fold. Constant hard and sincere efforts for several years eventually bore fruits in 1900, when the Congress session was held at Lahore, on the Bakhshi's insistence, the Aryas joined the Congress in large numbers. But it seems fate, that 'invincible third partner' in the struggle, was working against the Aryas. The story of their misfortune can be described in no better words than those of Lajpat Rai himself :

> Bakhshi Jaisi Ram died a few days before the session, and the interest of the Arya Samajists in the Congress began to wane. Several years after the Congress session was over, serious differences over the Congress buildings and Congress finance continued between Lala Harkishen Lal and the Arya Samajists.
>
> Whenever the Congress Committee met these controversies made their appearance. At last Lala Harkishen Lal stopped calling these meetings. . . . The Arya Samajists ceased to take part in the Congress politic. . . . Besides, Lala Harkishen Lal himself fell out with the Congress leaders and severed his connection with the Congress. The Indian Association was inactive even before this. The result was that the Punjab was left without any political life whatsoever.[40]

The exit of Harkishen Lal and other Brahmos from the scene and the advent of the so-called 'extremists' led by Tilak in the Congress were welcome changes for the Aryas and they rushed to join the ranks of the Congress. They started their own paper *Panjabee* in 1904, for propagating their programme for Swarajya. They sent strong contingents of delegates to plenary sessions of the Congress. When the *Swadeshi* movement gained ground after the partition of Bengal (1905), they made great efforts for making it a big success in their province. In 1907, they made substantial contribution to the so-called Punjab

disturbances. Their mass arrests in Rawalpindi, deportation of their leaders Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh and persecution of 'their men' at Lahore, Lyallpar, Patiaia and other places had some dampening effect on the Arya leadership. as seen in chapter V, but the general mass of the Arya people did not give up the path that they had opted for : they continued to keep their association with the Congress on a very large scale throughout the period under study.

As in Haryana and Punjab, the Aryas also made substantial contribution to the Congress movement in Uttar Pradesh from 1885 through 1988—thanks to the efforts made by the Arya activists listed in Table 7.3.[41]

Table 7.3

Place	Name of the leader	Profession/Status
Agra	Rai Sahib Sohan Lal	Rais
Kanpur	Maharaj Shiv Sahai	Arya preacher
,,	Shiv Naryan	Banker
,,	Janki Nath	Zamindar
Jhansi	Pragdatt	,,
Lucknow	Maharaj Krishan	Rais
Dehradun	Baldeo Singh	Zamindar, Banker
Mathura	Radhey Lal Sharma	Arya Preacher
Allahabad	Roshan Lal	Barrister-at-law
Shahjehanpur	Bakhtawar Singh	Editor *Arya Darpana*
Mirzapur	Ramudin	Merchant
,,	Siri Ram	Hony. Magistrate
Fyzabad	Ram Kishore	Merchant
Pratapgarh	Shankar Dayal	Pleader

After 1905 when the *Swadeshi* movement made stupendous progress in different parts of India after the partition of Bengal, the Arya activists made it a great success in U.P. also. As the details relating to this movement have already been discussed at length in chapter IV, we need not repeat them here. As in Haryana and Punjab, the Aryas swelled the Congress ranks in the province during the period under study.

In Delhi too, the Aryas played some useful role in making the Congress movement a success. The important Arya activists who did this work there were : Bansidhar (banker), Ram Chand (banker and merchant), Gokul Chand (banker and merchant) and Indernarayan (merchant).[42]

Similarly in Madhya Pradesh and Bihar, the Arya activists made useful contribution to the Congress movement. Since the Samajas were weak there, the contribution was quantitatively speaking, not so significant.

In sum, the Aryas played a very important part in the Congress movement during the period under study. They supplied enlightened leadership and provided a useful following to the national organisation. They gave their platforms and lent their preachers to the Congress, though not officially, for spreading its message to every part of the provinces wherever their Samajas existed. They suffered in ways more than one in this process, but did not bother. Service to the motherland was their *dharma*.

References

1. It may be pertinent to point out that modernization did not come here as a consequence of the British rule as some people made us believe. These people confuse westernization with modernization : the British could at best be given credit for creating conditions for the growth of the former but not for the latter. As far as modernization is concerned it came on its own. Technological inventions, no matter who bring them about, become the possession of all the world sooner or later. In recent years, the Americans tried to keep the atomic bomb a secret but they could not. The British rule, in fact, by causing economic ruination, and socio-cultural backwardness, stunted the growth of the forces of nationalism in India. Left to herself, it is believed, India would have, like Japan, become a strong modern nation much earlier.
2. Those interested in the story may consult A.C. Majumdar, *Indian National Evolution* (Madras : 1908); Annie Besant, *How India Wrought for Freedom* (Madras : 1915); P. Sitarmayya, *History of the Indian National Congress, 1885-1935* (Madras : 1935); C.F. Andrews and G. Mukherjee, *The Rise and Growth of Congress in India* (London : 1938); H.N. Dasgupta, *The Indian National Congress* (Calcutta : 1946), Vol. I; B.M. Majumdar and B.P. Majumdar, *Congress and Congressmen in the pre-Gandhian Era* (Meerut: 1967); B. Martin. *New India, 1885* (Bombay 1970).

3. Allan Octavian Hume (1829-1899), a retired I.C.S. officer, a radical liberal, Theosophist, interested in the well-being of the Indian people and their politics, founder of Indian National Congress (1885).
4. For full text of the circular, see *The Congress Report*, 1885.
5. In Poona 'Heerabagh, the historic palace of the Peshwas standing on the lake at the foot of the famous Paravati Hill, had been chosen both for the conference as well as for the residence of the delegates, attending the Congress session.'
6. A.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
7. A mistake has occurred in counting the number of delegates to the session. It is surprising that this mistake is not corrected even in the latest work, *Concise History of the Indian National Congress*, Ed. B.N. Pandey, recently issued by the Congress Centinary Celebration Committee (Bombay: 1985).
8. Italics by authors.
9. A.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-61.
10. Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee (1844-1906), a Bengali Christian leading lawyer, Calcutta High Court, took an abiding interest in public activities.
11. See *The Congress Report*, 1885, for details.
12. For details see *ibid.*, pp. 28-30.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 58. At Murlidhar's instance, the following resolution was passed on the subject: "That the resolution is passed by this Congress be communicated to the Political Associations in each Province and that these Associations be requested with the help of similar bodies and other agencies within their respective Provinces to adopt such measures as they may consider to advance the settlement of the various questions dealt with in these resolutions."
15. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) was a loyalist Muslim leader. Founder of the Aligarh Muslim University, he worked for the advancement of the community in ways more than one.
16. Theodre Beck, an Englishmen, Principal of the Aligarh Muslim College, Aligarh, worked for the Muslim separatism.
17. A loyalist *raja* of Bhinga (U.P).
18. *Indian Express*, 15 December 1985.
19. Information given by Mrs. Bhagya Devi, Delhi, 14 October, 1985.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, K.C. Yadav, *Haryana Ka Itihas* (Delhi 1982), Vol. III, p. 128.
22. Lajpat Rai spent his formative years in Haryana. He lived at Rohtak for two years, 1884-1886. Then he shifted to Hissar. See *Journal of Haryana Studies* (JHS), Vol. V, 1973, pp. 28-37.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. K.C. Yadav, *Haryana Ka Itihas*, Vol. III, p. 128.

26. Source : Jagdish Chandra, *Freedom Struggle in Haryana*, pp. 11-14 K.C. Yadav, *Haryana*, Vol. III, pp. 120-26.
27. K.C. Yadav, *loc. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 130.
28. He is mentioned as such in the police reports.
29. Lajpat Rai, *Autobiograhical Writings*, pp. 37-38.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-41.
31. See K.C. Yadav, *The Builders of Our Nation*, Vol. I; *Haryana*, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 110.
32. Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
35. Munshi Ram, *Inside Congress*, p. 20.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Lajpat Rai, *op cit.*, p. 86.
38. Nagendra Nath Gupta 'Lala Lajpat Rai', *The Modern Review*, December 1928, p. 736.
39. *Satdharma Pracharaka*, 21 September 1900, vide *SNN*, *1900*, pp. 544-45.
40. Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 97.
41. Source : *Congress Proceedings* for different years.
42. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 8

Arya Samaj and the Revolutionary Movement

I

The shame of slavery had begun to pinch the Indian youth by the turn of the 19th century. After some time, this pain became very intense and some of these youth began to act daringly with a view to obliterating all vestiges of the British rule. These 'dare devils' have been styled as 'terrorists' and 'anarchists' by the officials. All said and done, however, terrorists they were, but not anarchists. In the words of Dr. R.C. Majumdar:

> The revolutionaries never favoured, much less worked for, a state of anarchy, leading to chaos and confusion, such as was the case with the nihilists in Russia. So far, therefore, as their ultimate aim was concerned, they had perfect agreement with the nationalists. The difference was only in respect to the means to be adopted in order to achieve the freedom of India which was their common aim.[1]

The question was how to achieve freedom and the revolutionaries were divided into two schools over it:

> One (school) believed in armed conflict against the British with the help of the Indian soldiers, and pinned its faith on the development of international situation which might create a favourable opportunity and bring necessary help from outside. The other held that terrorism in the shape of

> murdering officials would paralyze the machinery of Government and bring it to its knees. Both, however, felt the urgent need of creating a revolutionary spirit in the country at large, so that the people may be ready to strike at the opportune moment. . . .
>
> Money was required for maintaining the activities of both the sections. At first, subscriptions from friends and patrons sufficed for the purpose. But as the activities grew, this source proved very inadequate and the need was felt of extorting money from the rich and the affluent. This was regarded by the revolutionaries as 'forced taxes from those who are in a position to pay.' Sometimes they treated such money as 'forced loan' to be repaid with interest when Swaraj was established in India. There are cases on record where the person whose money was looted received an acknowledgement of the debt with a promise to repay it with interest.[2]

This was the genesis of the so-called political dacoities which 'loom large among the early activities of the revolutionaries.'

Now a word about the spread of the revolutionary movement. The story of the daring deeds and supreme sacrifice to break the shackles of slavery was first written in blood in Maharashtra. Bengal came next. And then came the turn of Punjab, Haryana, U.P., Bihar, Rajasthan, and other regions. Arya Samaj, as noted elsewhere, was strong in Punjab, U.P., and Rajasthan. Naturally, its members played a significant role in the revolutionary movement in these regions.

II

As discussed in detail in chapter 4, Punjab was afire in 1905-7. Seeing the situation, as it was then, the Lieutenant-Governor Sir Denzil Ibbetson was so much unnerved that he saw the shadow of 1857 looming large over his head. After the riots at Lahore, Rawalpindi and other places, he was more than convinced that on the 10th of May—the date on which the great uprising broke out in 1857—history would repeat itself and their work of centuries would be undone. In that state of panic he

wrote a weighty minute to Minto, the Viceroy, proposing stringent action. Minto, too, gave way to despair and sent an urgent telegram to Morley the Secretary of State, on 8 May 1907, saying:

> Three days ago we received a weighty and urgent minute from Ibbetson on the present political situation in the Punjab. . . . He describes a state of things giving rise to the greatest apprehension. Everywhere the extremists openly and continuously preach sedition, both in the press and at largely attended public meetings convened by them, while well-disposed classes stand aghast at our inaction and will, before long, in Ibbetson's opinion, begin to despise a Government which permits sedition to flourish unrebuked and submits to open and organized insult.
>
> The campaign of sedition assumes two main forms. In the towns of Lahore, Amritsar, Pindi, Ferozepore, Multan and other places, it has openly advocated the murder of high officials, and he and others have urged the people to rise, attack the English, and be free. In the country systematic efforts are being made to corrupt the yeomanry from whom the army is recruited. Special attention is given to Sikhs and military pensioners; seditious leaflets are circulated to Sikh villagers, and at a public meeting at Ferozepore, where disaffection was openly preached, the men of the Sikh regiments stationed there were invited to attend, and several hundred were persent. The Sikhs are told that they saved India for us in the Mutiny, that we are now ill-treating them, and that this is a judgment on them for betraying their country in her war of independence. . . . It is alleged that we wish to crush the flourishing indigenous industries of cotton and sugarcane, it is said that we have taken the people's money and given them paper in return, and the villagers are asked who will cash our currency notes when we are gone. The people are urged to combine to withhold payment of Government revenue, water rates, and other dues; to refuse supplies, carriages and other help to Government officers on tour, and native soldiers and police are pilloried

> as "traitors" and adjured to quit the service of the Government.
>
> This propaganda is organized and directed by a secret committee of the Arya Samaj, a society, originally religious, which has, in the Punjab, a strong political tendency.[3]

Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, the leading lights of the movement, were deported to Mandalay (Burma). The Arya Samaj activists were arrested throughout Punjab and implicated in a number of cases. The Arya newspapers and periodicals were placed at the mercy of the magistrates by an act of 1908. Fearless editors and printers, like Pindi Das, Dina Nath etc. were jailed. The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act was changed, arming 'the executive with almost unlimited powers over individual persons and political organizations'. Books, tracts, newspapers containing the so-called 'prohibited' matter were forfeited in thousands.[4]

Thus 'public life was thoroughly stifled by imposing restrictions on public meetings and the press, and rendering impartial justice almost impossible.' There was a temporary setback to the nationalist forces. But by 1909 we again find them in the arena, ready to fight back the 'satanic government' with added zeal and enthusiasm.

The leader of the present movement was the same old fiery Ajit Singh who was released under popular pressure by the government on 18 November 1907. His associates were two of his own brothers, Kishan Singh[5] and Swaran Singh 'both staunch Arya Samajists[6] and Lal Chand Falak,[7] a great poet and Sufi Amba Prasad,[8] a well-known revolutionary activist.

These youthful revolutionaries published a large number of books of which the following were noted as 'highly dangerous': *Hindustan men Angrezi Hakumat, Divide and Conquer,* and *Ungali Pakarte Pahuncha Pakara* by Ajit Singh; *Ghadr* and *Qaumi Alah* by Nand Gopal; *Amanat men Khianat,* by Swaran Singh; *Desi Fauj-i-Zafar Mauj* and *Qaumen Kis Tarah Jinda Rahati Hain,* by Swaran Singh and Kishan Singh; *Sarkari Mulazamat, Hindustan Ki Kahani Keir Hardie Ki Zubani* and *Qaumi Tarane* by Lal Chand 'Falak', *Qaumi Islah* (2 parts) by Nand Lal; and *Baghi Masih* by Sufi Amba Prasad.[9] Besides this, the revolutionaries

also delivered lectures, held corner meetings etc. to propagate their views.[10]

But that was not enough. The shackles of slavery, they knew, were too strong to be broken by such measures. Therefore, some time in mid-1909 they devised a three-pronged plan to destroy the British imperialism root and branch. The plan was as follows:

> First to draw the Hindus towards the enterprise; second, to earn the goodwill of the Muslims; and third actual execution of the scheme which included looting of treasuries and post offices.
> The scheme aimed at training people as "youthful warriors" who were classified as (a) organisers (b) detectives (c) terrorists. The third group was expected to throw bombs or fire revolvers on any individuals or at any place.[11]

These activities of the revolutionaries could not remain hidden from the government for long. On 5 November they swung into action by raiding the following places simultaneously: Qaumi Book Agency, (ii) Arorbans Book Agency, (iii) Sahaik Press, (iv) Swarajya Press, (v) Bande Matram Book Agency, (vi) Bharat Mata Book Agency, and (vii) Hindustan Press, all in Lahore, and the houses of Arjan Singh, father of Ajit Singh at Gujranwala and Dhanpat Rai, his father-in-law at Kasur, and seized a lot of 'seditious literature'.[12] All the activists, excepting Ajit Singh and Sufi Amba Prasad who fled away to Persia, were arrested. There was a trial under Section 124-A and punishments were given as under:

1. Lal Chand Falak	4 years and 6 months' r.i.
2. Kishan Singh	1 year and 5 months' r.i.
3. Nand Gopal	5 years' transportation to Andamans.
4. Swaran Singh	3 years' r.i.[13]

Owing to shabby treatment in the jail youthful Swaran Singh suffered from T.B. There was no proper treatment. As a result, his condition became very serious and he was let off. But that

was too late—the dreadful disease had eaten him up: he died in 1910 in the prime of his youth. He was just 23 then.[14]

Bhai Parmanand, the famous Professor of History and Politics at the D.A.V. College, Lahore and a pillar of the Punjab Arya Samaj was the next target. The professor was a great patriot who inspired hundreds of youngmen to join the national movement. The government came to suspect him as a dangerous revolutionary and raided his house on 8 November 1909,[15] to gather evidence against him. No better words than these of Parmanand himself can be found to explain the 'operation search' and its result:

> The search started from the place where my own things were lying. Most of them were things brought from London, and there were also letters received from London. Along with the letters were sheets of paper on which, while there, I had put down some of the thoughts which were regularly occupying my mind. Some letters and other things which had arrived in my absence had been awaiting my return. Among these was one in lithograph which on examination I suspected to be in connection with bomb-making. But I had indifferently left it lying about. I was reflecting what I should say if questioned about it, I made up my mind to speak out the truth. But imagine my surprise when, during the search, letters and papers began to come out of my desk which had been addressed to Sardar Ajit Singh by his friends. There was also the account written in his own hand of the exile in Mandalay. I naturally charged the police with having mixed up these with my papers. As each of these papers appeared I stated that I did not know whence it came. I gave the same answer when the lithographed letter came out. I knew it was a lie, and if it were alone I would never have resorted to this.
>
> In addition to these were some letters written to me in London by Lala Lajpat Rai from India. The thoughts jotted down by me on the sheets of paper were broadly speaking, on two subjects. One was "What should be the future constitution of India?" On this I had written that the seat of the Central Government should be at Delhi and Simla. There

> should be a separate chamber for Indian princes,—like the House of Lords—the President of which should be the ruler of a state like Nepal. The second topic was the relation between Hindus and Musulmans. At that time it was impossible for me to anticipate the present unity. My idea was that the territory beyond Sindh should be united with Afghanistan and the North West Frontier Province into a great Musulman kingdom. The Hindus of the region should come away, while at the same time Musulmans in the rest of India should go and settle in this territory.[16]

A month or so after this, Bhai Parmanand was arrested under Section 110 of the Cr.P.C. He was defended by Raghunath Sahay, Durga Das and Dwarka Das. The special magistrate[17] Mr. Harison, who tried him, found after a little over three months that no specific offence could be made against the professor and therefore let him off on furnishing security 'for keeping the peace for three years'.[18]

How did the Arya activists, especially those belonging to the College section, behave in this case? There are those who accuse them of abandoning Bhai Parmanand in this hour of trial. The services of the Bhai, they say, were dispensed with soon after a criminal case was framed against him. In the second place, no help was rendered to him in fighting the government to prove the charges false. And thirdly, the worst of all, his friends and colleagues in the Samaj and the College fearing governmental wrath began to avoid meeting him.

A scrutiny of these accusations shows that the first charge is absolutely correct. Parmanand's services were terminated by the D.A.V. College managing committee for 'his complicity in the criminal case'. The College authorities feared harm coming to the College and they sacrificed one of its servants to save it. But the 'sacrifice' was meant just to hoodwink the government. As noted elsewhere, Bhai Parmanand was paid full salary even after his services were terminated.[19]

As regards the second and the third charges, the facts available to us do not support them. The authorities of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab (College section), the officials of the D.A.V. College Managing Committee, his colleagues and

friends helped him in the case and otherwise. They did not disown or avoid him. On the contrary, prominent Arya Samajists came forward and stood as witness for him. These included Ram Prasad, Secretary Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Bakshi Tek Chand, Secretary D.A.V. College Managing Committee, Hans Raj, Principal D.A.V. College, Lahore and Devidayal, and Dewan Chand, Professors of the College, Bakshi Ram Rattan, Head Master, D.A.V. High School, Lahore and Bhai Jagat Singh, Superintendent of the D.A.V. High School, Boarding House, and prominent Arya activists like Mahatma Munshi Ram and Kishan Singh, father of Bhagat Singh.[20] Dwarka Das and Durga Das, leading Arya lawyers fought his case[21] free of cost.

After Ajit and Amba Prasad left India and Parmanand was arrested, everything seemed to be quiet in Punjab. But it was in fact a lull before the storm. The revolutionaries were busy these days strengthening their organization, planning their strategies and mastering their tactics. Lala Har Dayal, the famous revolutionary nationalist, had made substantial contribution in this respect. He came to Punjab during his short visit to India in 1910 and contacted various persons to do the revolutionary work—i.e. to throw off the British yoke by armed struggle. His chief lieutenant in Punjab was Dina Nath about whom more will be said later.[22]

The Punjab revolutionaries were supposed to act in a bigger context. Their friends, philosophers and guides were two eminent revolutionaries—Amir Chand,[23] an Arya Samajist teacher in a Delhi School, and Rash Behari Bose, a clerk in the Forest Department at Dehradun. After a while, a trio of daring youngmen joined their group: they were Awadh Behari from U.P., Basant Kumar Biswas from Bengal and Bhai Balmukand from Punjab.[24] Of these Bhai Balmukand, a cousin of Bhai Parmanand, was a staunch Arya Samajist who though a late comer, replaced Dina Nath in the organization by dint of his merit soon after his entry into it.

These revolutionaries tried to do a great job in attempting to kill Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy on the occasion of his first State entry into Delhi, the new capital of India, on 23 December 1912. It was a formidable job. But they attempted to execute it with

admirable finesse. No better words than those of Lord Hardinge himself can be found to describe the incident:

> It was a perfect morning and the procession of elephants made a most striking picture of oriental colour and splendour. We passed through the Queen's Gardens, from which the public had been excluded. It was there that I had an unaccountable presentiment of evil and said to my wife, 'I feel quite miserable, I am sure something dreadful is going to happen'. She replied, 'It is only that you are tired and you always dislike ceremonial.' Nevertheless, I persisted in my statement. A few moments later the procession entered the Chandni Chowk, the principal street of Delhi, which was packed with people, and I was greeted with the greatest enthusiasm, the cheering being quite deafening. I had not proceeded more than about 300 yards before there was a shattering explosion. My elephant stopped. There was dead silence. My helmet was on the road. I glanced at my wife, saw at once that she was all right, turned to look at the back of the howdah where I saw some yellow powder and remarked, 'I am afraid that was a bomb'. My wife asked me if I was hurt and I replied that I felt as though somebody had hit me very hard on the back and had poured boiling water over me. The Chief of Police handed up my helmet on the top of a lance and asked for orders. I said the procession was to proceed as before. Wild cheering broke out on all sides, but when the procession had gone a short distance, my wife looking behind saw that I was badly wounded and the servant who had been standing behind me holding the State umbrella was dead and that his body was entangled in the ropes of the howdah. She told me about the dead man and I stopped the elephant at once. While the poor man's body was being removed, I fainted from loss of blood and on recovering consciousness found myself lying on the pavement and receiving first aid. I gave orders that everything was to be carried out as arranged and gave the text of the speech I had prepared to be read at the ceremony by the senior member of my Council. This was done, my wish being that India should realise that nothing could

> deflect the British Government and the Government of India from their declared intention. I was taken back to Viceregal Lodge in a motorcar in an unconscious state.
>
> I remembered afterwards that my Indian personal servant, who had been with me shooting on the previous day and who apparently had put on his scarlet uniform over his khaki shooting kit to keep him warm, had also been on the elephant standing behind Winifred, and that after the explosion I had seen him getting off the elephant in khaki and not in uniform. I said to him, 'What the devil do you mean by being here in khaki?' But I learnt afterwards that the explosion had literally blown his uniform to shreds and that he was covered with 30 or 40 minor wounds. He did not hear what I said as the drums of his ears were burst, as was one of mine. Mine healed but he, poor man, was always deaf afterwards. I secured for him a double pension.
>
> A curious fact is that the explosion of the bomb was so loud and crashing that it was heard six miles away, and yet neither Winifred nor I heard anything; I suppose our hearing was paralysed by the bomb before the sound could be heard.
>
> My wounds, which were very painful, took a long time to heal as several small operations were necessary to remove particles of the bomb with which were screws, nails, gramophone needles, etc.[25]

So well-planned and nicely executed was the so-called 'Delhi Bomb outrage' that, despite their best efforts, the British police failed to get any clue as to who were involved in it. Even the announcement of a reward of rupees one lakh for the one who gave any meaningful information made no difference. But a chance search of the house of Master Amir Chand in Delhi provided a clue. The police got hold of a letter written by Amir Chand's friend Avadh Behari from Simla which was addressed to one 'M.S.'. When Avadh Behari was asked by the police as to who 'M.S. was', he gave it to be 'Dina Nath' of Lahore.

This Dina Nath was none else but the lieutenant of Har Dayal in Punjab. The police was on the right track. He was

immediately apprehended and so weak a fibre he was made of that at the slightest touch by the police, he, in the words of Bhai Parmanand, began to weep and cry from which the police felt sure that he could be made use of to discover the secrets of the conspiracy. Finally he gave the secret history of the revolutionary movement in the Punjab. He said that in 1908 when Har Dayal was leaving India he had made Amir Chand, leader and representative in his place and appointed Dina Nath his deputy in Lahore. He also described the bomb incident in Lawrence Bagh (17 May 1910) and the murder of a gardener. That bomb had been placed there by himself and Basant Kumar, but they fled and in their secret society gave out the name of Balraj, son of Lala Hansraj and my cousin Balmukund, as the authors of the mischief. Rash Behari's place of residence was also betrayed."[26]

As a result of Dina Nath's revelations and further investigation 14 persons connected with the 'Delhi Bomb outrage' were arrested. Of these the following were prominent Arya activists: Master Amir Chand, Bhai Balmukand and Balraj Bhalla.[27]

Amir Chand and Balmukand have already been discussed. But not Balraj. This youngman was the son of Mahatma Hans Raj, the founder principal of the D.A.V. College, Lahore. Much against the wishes and commands of his father and relatives, he joined the revolutionary movement and took part in it in a big way. He was arrested and put before the Sessions Judge, Lahore along with other revolutionaries for trial on 21 May 1914.

The omnibus charges levelled against the 14 accused were as follows:

> That you . . . . between October 1910 and March 1914, both at Delhi and at other places in British India, did conspire with one another and with other persons (the approvers etc.) and other persons unknown, to commit the offence of murder (302 I.P.C.) which offence was committed on May 17, 1913, at Lahore and thereby committed an offence under Section 120B and 302 I.P.C.[28]

The case dragged on until 5 October 1914 when death sentence was awarded to Amir Chand and Balmukand. Balraj

Bhalla was awarded transportation for life. Appeals were made against the decision to the Punjab Chief Court and the Privy Council. But to no avail. Amir Chand and Bhai Balmukand were hanged in the Central jail, Delhi on 11 May 1915[29] and Balraj was sent to the Andamans.[30]

The story is not yet complete. To complete it, the soul-stirring saga of Ram Rakhi, who was married to Balmukand only a year before, is narrated in her own words. The story, told probably by none other than Bhai Parmanand, had appeared in *The Arya Gazette*[31] soon after the event.

I. The flower was in bloom. The cuckoo sang intoxicated with the beauty and softness of its petals. The gardener came and the cuckoo flew away frightened to circle round and round its companion. But the gardener mercilessly plucked the flower and tearing it into petals put them into his basket. The cuckoo shrieked and cried, but alas! in vain. Then it fell down in a swoon and near its own favourite flower gave up the ghost.

II. It was summer. He was in jail, I at home. For six months I had been waiting for the hour to come. They used to say "Don't be foolish. He will be released and will certainly come back." I would say, "When will that day dawn? When will that sun rise? When will the night come to an end? When will that happy hour strike?"

What occasions had I to see Delhi? But he was kept in Delhi and the trial too was taking place there. So I reached Delhi. The jail cells were fearful. It was in these narrow cells that during the hottest months he was kept imprisoned day and night.

"Do they give you a cot" I asked. "How innocent you are! What use is a cot here?" he said.

"Then what do you sleep on?" I timidly enquired.

"I spread a blanket on the floor and sleep on it."

III. I came back home. Others slept on cots on the open terrace. I went down to the lowermost room and spreading

a woollen blanket on the floor lay down on it. Mosquitoes began to sing; they were running about my ears. They seemed to be preaching a sesmon to me. They seemed to me to say, "Fool! does sleep visit anyone in this season in such a room and on a woollen blanket?" I sat up. Moonbeams were coming in through the window. I gazed upon the moon and asked,

"Dost thou, o shining one, brighten his cell? Dost thou, see that he, too, spends his nights awake or tossing about on his bed?"

I looked at the moon again and again, but never an answer did I get. I again lay down. The mosquitoes bit me severely. The next night also my bed was in this room. The third night also the mosquitoes had continued their attack on me—a helpless woman—when my sister-in-law suddenly appeared.

"Are you bent upon killing yourself?" she asked.

I: Why, how am I dying?

She: These are the sure means of death.

I: Do those who sleep in this fashion. . . .

She: Yes, Yes, they die.

My eyes were opened. Tears rushed into them. My companion was alarmed and began to curse herself, "It is nobody's fault," I said, "my fortune has burst. If he sleeps like this in jail shall I not also sleep so?"

IV. Once again I got permission to see him and went to Delhi. When I asked about their present condition, he said. "We eat only once a day." When I asked what sort of bread it was, he gave me a bit of it. I brought it back with me. There was gram in it, also wheat and some other things. I came home and prepared the same kind of bread for one meal a day—living upon water for the rest. Several months passed by in this manner. The case was proceeding uninterruptedly. At last, I was sitting one day in my room thinking of him. The sound of weeping came from outside. My heart began to leap; beads of perspiration formed on my forehead. Controlling myself, I came out. I saw her repeating his name and saying, "The death sentence! The death sentence! . . . ."

V. I went to Delhi again to see him for the last time in that same jail where noble youths are deprived of their lives, where soft and delicate blossoms are crushed out. I met my lord. My heart said, "Let us exchange a few words." But my lips were saying there was no strength in us for that. Yes, his lips moved and the soft voice came out, "Beloved! the world is unreal. He who has come, has to go. No one can count on another's help. Think yourself fortunate that I am laying down my life at the altar of the motherland."

My ears heard the words, while tears rushed from my eyes. Again and again I tried to check their course to satisfy my heart's longing to take a last long look at him. But it was in vain.

The next day the materials for the sacrifice were got ready. They were saying, "This will be the last service for his soul." I said to myself "This will be a good occasion for me to join him." But they came back saying that the body could not be obtained.

What happened next I cannot say. "For fifteen days now I have been fasting and praying. The hour is very nearly come when my heart's longing will be fulfilled." After saying this she was silent.

VI. My hair stood on end at the narration of this painful story. Tears flowed from my eyes. There was pain at my heart. She never afterwards ate a grain or drank an ounce of water. The eighteenth day had passed in this fashion—sitting in the self-same spot in meditation of him who was the object of all her meditations. She practised asceticism. At last, one day, when the sky was clear, the sun was brightly shining and folks were engaged in their occupations, she rose from her place. She herself brought pure water, bathed, and clothing herself in pure garments, lay down again in the old place. "For many days you have tried me, dear lord!" She said "To-day I will not leave you. I can no longer be away from you." So saying she breathed her last breath and yielded up her spirit. . . .

III

Like their counterparts in Punjab, the Arya activists also made substantial contribution to the revolutionary movement in Rajasthan, the land of the *rajas* and *ranas*. The first man to have jumped into this fray was a social reformer turned revolutionary—Govind Guru.[32] As this man has remained ignored at the bands of scholars so far, we are giving a detailed account of his life and activities here.

Govind was born on 31 December 1858 at Bansaya, a small hamlet in the erstwhile state of Dungarpur in Rajasthan. He was a Banjara by caste. There was no school in his village. But so poor and wretched was the condition of Govind's parents that they could not have afforded to send him to any school even if there had been one. Thus extant circumstances conspired against the sapient Banjara boy to deprive him of any formal education. However, he had intense love for learning and, therefore, had it by sitting at the feet of a *pujari* of the village temple.

Govind possessed a sharp intellect and a robust common sense. Temperamentally, he was highly emotional. He was so kind and gentle that he reportedly could not control his tears whenever he heard a man in distress telling his story to him. Naturally, a man of this type could not have remained unaffected by the wretched conditions of the people around him. Especially the lot of the poor Bhils, Minas and other so-called 'criminal tribes' who preponderated in his area saddened his heart and he became restless to improve it.

Fortunately for him, Swami Dayananda Saraswati happened to visit Rajasthan in 1880-81. His programme of reform was liked by the people and they came to him from far and near. The fragrance of the Swami reached the restless Banjara, too, and he came to him. It was a case of instant liking: Govind became a disciple of the great Swami and remained with him during his tour of Rajasthan. He shared his problems with the reformer and found out their answer.

At this period of time, there was no political awakening in Dungarpur. The question of institution-building was beyond comprehension on the part of the people who were poor, illiterate and ignorant. For them the *raja* was an *avatara* of God and

his wishes were laws. The dry bread that they got was 'salt' provided not by their labour, but by the kindness of the *raja.* It was their moral duty, therefore, to be dog-like faithful to the 'salt' and 'the hand' that provided it.

Inspired by Dayananda Saraswati, Govind came as a messiah to effect improvement in the situation. He formed an organization called *Sanpa Sabha* in 1883 which stood for love, unity and fraternity. Its members were enjoined to follow the following instructions:

(i) Abstain from drinking and meat-eating.
(ii) Shun thievery, robbery or dacoity.
(iii) Work hard, and earn your livelihood by honest means.
(iv) Open schools and send your children there. The adults should also go for education.
(v) Remain clean.
(vi) Have faith in God and do *havana* daily without fail.
(vii) Make your children civilized. Arrange lectures by earned people on such subjects that inculcate civilized behaviour.
(viii) Try hard to improve the financial condition of your family and your society (*samaj*).
(ix) Do not go to courts. Settle your disputes through *Panchayats.*
(x) Do not give *begar* (forced labour) to the *raja*, *Jagirdars* or officials.
(xi) Do not tolerate injustice even from the *raja*, not to speak of his officials. Fight injustice bravely.
(xii) Use *swadeshi* things. Do not use anything not made in this country.

The persons who accepted the above rules of conduct were styled as *bhaktas.* They were given a thread necklace with one *rudraksha* in the centre to wear.

The *Sanpa Sabha* and its ideals appealed to the Bhils, Minas etc. a great deal and hundreds of them joined its ranks, first in the Sirohi belt and subsequently in the entire south-eastern region of Rajasthan. Almost every village had a branch of the *Sabha* established by the turn of the 19th century.

Govind set up his headquarters on top of a tiny hill at Chhoni, a small village near his birthplace. Later, however, when his movement became more popular, he shifted it to another centrally located place—Managarhi. Hundreds of people visited this place almost daily to discuss their problems with their *Guru* and received light. They held him in very high esteem--much more than what they had for the *raja.* They obeyed his *orders* very promptly.

Govind used to call a general meeting of all his followers, who were in thousands, every year on the last day of *Magha.* They performed *havana,* discussed their problems and worked out their solutions on this occasion.

Besides reforming the Bhils, Minas and other 'backward tribals' socio-religiously, Govind's movement also brought political awakening to them. They stopped bending their knees before the cruel and unjust *hakims.* They raised their voice against *Zulum* in whatever form it was perpetrated by their rulers and their *ahalakaras.* This was not liked by the *rajas* of south-eastern Rajasthan, Dungarpur, Banswada, and Kushalgarh. It was a big challenge to their authority. Therefore they put their heads and resources together to crush the movement by ways more than one. But they failed. Ultimately, they approached the Agent to the Governor-General (AGG) to arrest Govind Guru 'who was preaching sedition' and crush his movement with a heavy hand.

The AGG acted. He sent express instructions to the officer commanding, the Khairwara cantonment, to send adequate force on 7 December 1908 for (i) arresting Govind Guru, and (ii) for dispersing the mischievous Bhils, Minas, etc, who, 'would be assembling in thousands at Managarhi to create trouble.'

The troop obeyed the orders promptly. They proceeded to arrest Govind. But it was not an easy task. His *bhaktas,* who were trained to fight injustice, resisted the troops. There was a confrontation. The troops opened fire. As a result, several hundred people were killed.

Govind was arrested and sent to the central jail Ahmedabad where he remained for over two months. He had committed no sin. Nothing could be found against him. A great deal of brain-wracking helped them to find a pretext. Some time ago

a police official was killed by a *bhakta* (follower of Govind) in Suntharam Pur, a small state in Gujarat. The culprit was got hold of and he was 'made to say' that he was inspired to do that work by Govind Guru.

Govind was sent to Suntharam Pur, and tried for his complicity in the murder of the police official. The farce of a trial which went on for some months concluded in the award of death penalty (by hanging) to Govind. There was an appeal against the decision which the ruler heard in person. Since there was 'no definite evidence' against the accused, the capital sentence was reduced to 20 years' rigorous imprisonment.

Govind came out from jail in 1919 when the prisoners were let off after the British Victory in the first world war.

Another Arya revolutionary was Kesari Singh Barhat (born 21 November 1872) of Khaira, a small village near Shahpur in Udaipur State. A well-read Charan lad, he was sensitive to the extant conditions around him especially the wretched condition that the people were reduced to by the British government and their feudal lackeys. And he took a vow to do away with the *Raj.*[33] He formed a revolutionary organization called *Vira Bharat Sabha* in association with Thakur Gopal Singh of Kharwa for this purpose. He established contacts with revolutionaries like Rash Behari Bose and revolutionary organizations like the *Abhinava Bharat.*

The Government came to know of his activities no sooner than he had started them. In the words of the political secretary to the Government of India (1914):

> It appears that there has been existing for some years in Rajputana without the knowledge of the *Durbar* or of the Political Officers a secret political organization directed originally against the Chiefs of Rajaputana but subsequently against the British Government. . . . There is, further, some reason to believe that efforts were made by Kesari Singh, fortunately with little result, to tamper with the loyalty of the Rajput troops.[34]

Kesari Singh also created disaffection against the rulers of the Rajput states. In 1903, for instance, he exhorted Fateh Singh, the Maharana of Udaipur, not to attend the *Delhi*

Darbar organized by Lord Curzon on 1 February 1903, to commemorate the coronation of Edward VII. For, he said, that would be in utter contravention of the noble tradition of his forefathers who never went to the *Delhi Darbar*. The Maharana was influenced by his soul stirring message and he came back from Delhi without attending the *Darbar*.[35]

Kesari Singh's work, however, could not move smoothly for want of funds. He, therefore, committed the murder of a wealthy corrupt Mahant, Pyare Ram (1914). For this, he was arrested, tried, and awarded life imprisonment. An excerpt from the judgement (11 December 1914):

> Barhat Kesari Singh, who has served in the Kotah State for a long time, is a man of learning and possesses intelligence above the average. His ideas towards the Government of India were as disaffected and antagonistic as those of the seditious and anarchical societies of Bengal. He was desirous of disseminating similar views in Rajputana and his efforts resulted in establishing a Rajput Boarding House at Kotah, and a Rajput Charan Boarding House at Jodhpur .... It has been admitted ... that Kesari Singh's intention in acquiring the wealth of Pyare Ram was to apply it to the *Desh Unnati* and Education . . .[36]

To put him out of reach, Kesari Singh was locked in Hazari Bagh jail in Bihar where he remained until 1919 when he was released after the British success in World War I. The Kotah ruler did not like his release and asked the government to revise their decision. Mr Craik, Home Secretary, Government of India, accepting the mistake, wrote to the ruler thus: (23 September 1919): ". . .It is most undesirable that this dangerous criminal should now be at large. Prima facie it would appear that his release was irregular, and due to the negligence of the Government of India's agents, and there would not seem to be anything illegal in rearresting him to serve the remainder of his sentence . . ."[37] He was not rearrested, however, and allowed to settle down in Kota State where he continued to serve his people until his death on 14 August 1941.

Kesari Singh's brother Zorawar Singh Barhat (born 1875)

also played a heroic role in the revolutionary struggle for freedom. At the instance of his great brother, he joined hands with Master Amir Chand, that leader of the revolutionaries in and around Delhi. He took part in the Delhi Bomb outrage of 23 December 1912 in which Lord Hardinge was seriously wounded. The police did their very best to arrest him but failed.

After Delhi Bomb outrage he took an active part in several dacoities committed by the revolutionaries in U.P. and Bihar for funds. He was one of the chief accused in the so-called Arrah conspiracy. The police made frantic efforts to get him but again failed.

Finding the noose around him, too tight, however, he shifted his residence to the ravines of Bhind (Gwalior) where he lived until his death in 1939.[38]

The story of suffering and sacrifices of the Barhat family is not yet complete. The heroic exploits of young Pratap Singh (born 25 May 1893) son of Kesari Singh and nephew of Zorawar Singh must be told to complete it. Pratap had a revolutionary bent of mind from the very beginning. When he grew up, his father Kesari Singh exhorted him to join the revolutionary movement under the guidance of Master Amir Chand and Rash Behari Bose. He did what his father wanted him to do, and took a leading part in revolutionary projects in Delhi, U.P. and Rajasthan. In Rajasthan he tried to inspire the soldiers in Ajmer and other cantonments to rise up in revolt against the British. He also took part in the throwing of a bomb on Lord Hardinge at Delhi on 23 December 1912. He was apprehended along with others and tried in the Delhi conspiracy case. Since no evidence was there to show his complicity in the case, he was let off. But no sooner was he free than he was again arrested for his part in the Benares conspiracy case. There was a trial and he was awarded 5 years' r.i. He was tortured to get details about his accomplices. The twentytwo-year-old Charan lad underwent almost intolerable suffering like a true stoic of the *Bhagavadgita* and did not divulge anything. The authorities tried to move him by touching a delicate cord. His mother was weeping, they said, and would die, if he did not live. The brave Barhat gave a brave reply even to this:

> You say that my mother is weeping day and night and is very disconsolate over my fate. But I refuse to be the cause for weeping for any other mother and if ever it so happens, that would be death to me and disgrace to my mother.[39]

This enraged the authorities. As a result, more torture came and with that came his death on 7 May 1915 in the prime of his youth—he was 22 then. Says R.C. Majumdar about him:

> By the year 1911 a number of young men joined the revolutionary organization and some of them were sent to Delhi for training under Amir Chand, Awadh Behari and Bal Mukund. The most famous among these young workers was Pratap Singh, son of Barhat Kesari Singh, who played an important part in the various conspiracies organized by Rash Behari Bose. He died a martyr's death and showed unflinching courage and exemplary endurance.[40]

IV

In U.P., too, a number of Arya Samajists joined the ranks of the revolutionary movement during the period under study. The most important of these revolutionaries was Genda Lal Dixit. He was a teacher in a D.A.V. School at Amiya (Etawah). He had read the works of Swami Dayananda Saraswati and he 'took to nationalist politics of the extreme type'. After some time, he left service and spent all his time in organizing a revolutionary party in U.P. In 1917 one Lachhmanand Brahmachari joined him in the 'sacred cause.'[41]

On 29 November (1917) Genda Lal formed a society called *Matrivedi Sanstha* at Allahabad which had four sections dealing with (i) secret service; (ii) enlistment in the Army and learning the use of arms; (iii) collection of money; and (iv) propagation of the objective of the society through literature [42] He recruited a large number of persons to the ranks of the society and collected arms.

After some time he felt that the 'staff' around him did not consist of 'daring men who would be prepared for any contingency'. As luck would have it, however, about this time he met one Panchama Singh, a leader of 'a big band of desperadoes

who had courage, men and arms'. They decided to work together and soon selected men who 'were capable of quick action over distant areas'.[43]

With the help of the new men, dacoities were committed at Mainpuri, Etawah, Auriya, Sandhakhera, Para, etc., to collect money for the struggle. The party 'became bolder with each adventure'. The Government, too, realised the gravtiy of the situation created by Genda Lal.

On January 31, 1918, a large number of Genda Lal's party (party-men) men had assembled in a jungle in Bhind (Gwalior). A traitor gave information of this and soon they were surrounded by a big force of armed police. At this, Genda Lal took the offensive. There was a heavy exchange of shots resulting in serious casualties on both sides: Genda Lal lost eight men through death and about twenty-five others suffered serious injuries. Lachhmanand fell fighting.[44]

When their ammunition was exhausted, Genda Lal was arrested with his men. In jail, Genda Lal assumed an air of surrendering to the authorities and expressed his eagerness to help the Government in the impending trial against the accused. Thus he 'was able to allay all suspicion in the minds of the guards and because of his more frequent meetings with high Government officers, who came to him for information, he was allowed to move rather freely than was usual in case of under-trials. With the advantage thus secured, Genda Lal made good his escape from the jail never to be arrested alive.'[45]

The Mainpuri conspiracy case in which Genda Lal was the chief accused, was not dropped even after he had escaped. The trial went on, and finally the judge found, Genda Lal guilty under Section 121-A, 120-B, etc. I.P.C. and awarded him death sentence on 27 July 1919.

The police did their very best to apprehend him. But they did not succeed. In 1920, however, he was taken in grip by a deadly disease—T.B. His brother had him admitted to the Irwin Hospital, Delhi where he breathed his last at 2 p.m. on December 27, 1920.[46]

V

The Arya Samajist soldiers of the Indian Army also played their part in the revolutionary struggle for freedom. Special mention may be made here of the 10th Jat Regiment which comprised Arya Samajist Jats from Rohtak and Hissar (Haryana). As noted elsewhere, these sepoys were highly politicized. Subedar Hari Ram was their leader. Naik Jot Ram and Sepoy Jag Ram acted as his deputies. The other ranks of the regiment, especially of the E Company were under the influence of these persons. Sub. Hari Ram visited the famous Bengal leader Bipin Chandra Pal (1908) and had 'discussions' with him. Most of the soldiers visited the house of the great martyr Khudi Ram Bose when they went to Midnapur for training. Some of the soldiers had joined the 'secret societies' of revolutionaries also.[47]

All these activities went unnoticed until a Bengali revolutionary exposed a plot hatched by the men of the 10th Jat and the revolutionaries. As already discussed, the plot, one of the most dangerous conspiracies ever hatched by revolutionaries was, however, betrayed to the government.[48]

The British government was shocked to hear of such a serious conspiracy and they at once took stringent measures against the culprits who were 42 in number. They were tried, by a military court-martial whose proceedings were kept highly confidential.[49] The details of the punishment inflicted upon the revolutionary soldiers have been given in Chapter 5.

VI

The Arya revolutionaries took a prominent part in the struggle for freedom even in foreign countries. The lead was given by Shyamaji Krishnaverma. After having served the Indian states as prime minister (diwan), for a long time the stormy disciple of Swami Dayananda left India in 1897 for good 'to wage a relentless struggle against the British Imperialism'. What converted Shyamaji, a loyal British subject, into a hardened rebel out to destroy British imperialism root and branch? Shyamaji has himself given some explanation for this. "When our friend Mr.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak and the Natu brothers were arrested," he observes, "we decided to leave India and settle in England".[50]

The explanation is not satisfactory. As rightly put by his biographer, Indulal Yajnik, the reader might well ask: "Why should Shyamaji who had studiously kept away from all politics, and the Congress, have been so suddenly moved and impressed by the imprisonment of a comparatively younger politician like Tilak'"? For a satisfactory answer we must revert, says Yajnik, once more to the very foundations of Shyamaji's views and associations in public matters :

> We have seen how at the very start of his career, Shyamaji sat at the feet of the great Swami Dayananda and enthusiastically imbibed his cardinal views on religious and social history. Not many words are necessary in this year (1934) to prove the revolutionary ideas that were implicit in the Swami's gospel of the Vedic Faith. For the Arya Samaj can be justly proud of more than one generation of National leaders and heroic youths who have suffered much for the freedom of India. Sympathetic foreigners, like Madame Blavatski and Colonel Allcott, sensed the patriotic fervour of Swami's teaching from afar, and vigorously exhorted Shyamaji in his younger days to hold the supreme honour and learning of his country high in the land of his rulers rather than bend on his knees before a British Imperialist like Monier Williams. That these leading Theosophists parted company with Swami (Dayananda) within a couple of years more, proved again that this burning faith was too indigenous and patriotic to suit the eclectic taste of even the most friendly foreigners. And the Swami's perfervid concentration on the halcyon days of India's unfettered sovereignty and his passionate chant of Vedic verses singing the glories of *Swaraj* (Self-government) and *Samrajya* (Aryan Empire) were calculated to inspire his pupils to strike for political freedom with the same heroism with which he fought for religious revolution.[51]

The Arya in him revolted at the humiliation suffered at Junagarh. While serving the state as its Dewan, he was falsely

implicated in a case and humbled by the ruler at the instigation of his British officials. The imprisonment of Tilak proved to be the proverbial last straw. And his 'faith in Englishmen, individually or collectively, was shattered to smithereens. His sense of loyalty to the foreign Government was extinguished for ever.'

Making England his home, Shyamaji made frantic efforts to enlighten the British public with regard to the grievances, demands and aspiratious of the people of India. To do his work effectively he started an English monthly *The Indian Sociologist*—'An organ of Freedom and of Political, Social and Religious Reform' in January 1905. He pleaded through it the cause of India and its 'unrepresented millions' before the Bar of Public opinion in great Britain and Ireland.

In February 1905, Shyamaji formed the India Home Rule Society with the following objects:

(1) To secure Home Rule for India.
(2) To carry on a propaganda in the United Kingdom by all practical means with a view to attain the same.
(3) To spread among the people of India a knowledge of the advantages of freedom and national unity.[52]

Shyamaji was appointed president of the Society and Parikh, Rana, Godrej, and Suhrawerdy were made its Vice-Presidents and Mukerji its secretary. The Society did its work faithfully to achieve the objects that it had set forth for itself.[53]

In July next, Shyamaji added yet another feather to his cap. He opened the India House in London for the accommodation of the Indians 'who may be deemed eligible to reside there'. In other words, it was a house for the nationalist Indians away from the eyes of the British intelligence. And what was happening in the new house could be guessed from the following sentence of the speech made by Mr Hyndman while declaring 'India House' open:

"As things stand, loyalty to Great Britain means treachery to India. . . . "[54]

A band of revolutionaries like Bapat, Savarkar etc. gathered at Shyamaji's 'India House' and worked for India's emancipation.

The British authorities were not unaware of these developments and they moved to arrest and try Shyamaji for 'treason'.

Shyamaji could anticipate the governmental moves and he fled to Paris on June 1907 to escape arrest and persecution. Some people have charged Shyamaji with being a coward who feared going to jail. But that was not the case. Shyamaji's own thinking on this point was:

> There is a saying in Sanskrit that it is better not to put your foot in mud at all than to put it in and wash it. In other words, it is folly for a man to allow himself to be arrested by an unsympathetic government and thus be deprived of liberty of action, when by anticipating matters he can avoid any such evils.[55]

Shyamaji continued to work, as usual, in Paris to achieve his aims and objectives outlined above until 1914 when the first World War broke out. In the changed situation when France was allied to Britain in war it seemed not only difficult but impossible to Shyamaji to carry out his anti-British projects. He, therefore, shifted to Geneva and pursued his work with usual zeal and enthusiasm till his death on 31 March 1930[56] which is discussed at length in volume II.

Like Shyamaji Krishnaverma, another Arya activist who worked strenuously for Indian freedom in foreign countries was Har Dayal. His work in the U.S.A. was especially fruitful. There the Indian residents were not treated properly. No doubt the Americans humbled other people too but as soon as their governments came to know about the sufferings of their people, they took action to effect improvement in the situation. Nothing of that sort was done for Indians.

In this situation the Indians lost no time to realize that self-help was the best help to get over their difficulties and formed at Astoria an association called 'Hindustani Association of the Pacific coast,' thanks to the efforts of Kashi Ram, a wealthy Arya Samajist contractor of Portland.[57]

Despite Kashi Ram's hard efforts, however, the newly formed association folded up soon after it started functioning. This caused a lot of disappointment which, however, turned

out to be short-lived. A great intellectual, and an organizer came in the midst of Indians about this time. He was no other than Har Dayal.[58]

Kashi Ram invited Har Dayal and his other enlightened friends at his house on 21 April 1913. There was a long discussion. Eventually the Ghadr Party came into being.[59]

The Ghadr Party was a well-knit organization which did a lot of work for India's freedom. The role of the *Ghadr*, the party's official organ, was especially unique in this regard. Published under the care and guidance of a great Arya activist, Jagat Ram Haryanavi[60] this revolutionary journal exhorted people to do their duty to their motherland in a forceful manner. A specimen of the writings:

> What is our aim? *Ghadr*. What is our work? *Ghadr*. Where will *Ghadr* break out? In India. The time will soon come when rifles and blood will take the place of pen and ink.[31]

The time came—in 1914, when the first world war broke out. The Ghadrites were asked to go to India immediately to do the following work:

(a) To work among the peasantry with a view to preparing them to co-operate in the anti-imperialist struggle;
(b) To effect seduction of the army as the foremost task and organising agitation not to send Indian soldiers to fight outside India till the country was granted complete independence;
(c) To procure arms;
(d) To distribute Ghadr literature in the form of small pamphlets exposing the Government policies;
(e) To form links with anti-imperialist forces inside and outside the country;
(f) To be prepared to strike at the appropriate time at the British Empire in case it suffered setbacks at the hands of Germany and Turkey;
(g) To commit dacoities in order to augment their limited resources;
(h) To manufacture bombs;
(i) To destroy railways and telegraph;
(j) To recruit young men for revolutionary work; and

(k) To loot treasuries, *thanas* etc. for financing their work.[62]

Responding favourably to the call of the leadership a large number of people sailed out to India. It is difficult to give out the exact number and names of Arya Samajists among these revolutionaries. The historical material available to us so far can help us in giving the names of some famous Arya activists only. They were: (1) Kashi Ram Joshi, (2) Jagat Ram Haryanavi, (3) Sohan Lal Pathak.

The first activist, as already mentioned was a leading light of the whole movement in America. He was busy all through the period of his stay in the U.S.A. effecting improvement in the wretched conditions of his countrymen. For this purpose he had founded the Indian Independence League at Portland. This, however, was not a success. Then in 1913, came the Ghadr party with Har Dayal. He made a handsome donation of 200 dollars towards its funds. As treasurer and later as secretary, he rendered meritorious services both in the consolidation and expansion of the party.

He arrived in India in October 1914 for the work mentioned above and selected Ludhiana as the centre of his activities. 'An essential part of the programme being to spread sedition among Indian soldiers,' he visited several cantonments and explained the aims and objects of his party.

The paucity of funds made Kashi Ram's work very difficult. After a great deal of thinking, he decided with the help of a band of 15 revolutionaries to plunder the Moga Government Treasury on November 25, 1914. The police came to know of their design and intercepted them with the help of a loyal zaildar and his followers. The revolutionaries killed the police official and the zaildar but could not escape from the mob. In consequence, Kashi Ram and his friends were arrested. They were produced before the Sessions Judge, Ferozepur, under Section 302 IPC. During the course of the trial, the Sessions Judge said to Kashi Ram: "Why don't you apologize and secure your release?" "I have done my duty and now you do yours", was the prompt reply of Kashi Ram. The Sessions Judge gave death sentence to the revolutionary: he was

hanged on 27 March 1915 and his property worth forty thousand rupees was confiscated.[63]

Like Kashi Ram, Jagat Ram Haryanavi also took 'part in the Ghadr activities in a very prominent manner'. He executed several dacoities to collect funds for implementing the schemes in hand and spread disaffection. He was arrested in 1915 and awarded death sentence which was later commuted to life imprisonment.[64]

A word about Sohan Lal Pathak now. Unlik his other comrades, Sohan Lal chose Burma as the centre of his revolutionary activities in the beginning of 1915. A large number of Indian troops were stationed there and he tried to establish contact with them. Both in his anxiety and desire for speedy result, "he threw all caution to the winds and at times would take the risk of meeting soldiers in open places, trying to convince them of the evil of British rule and the degrading position of Indians under British superior officers". This proved very costly to him. On 14 August 1915 while trying to convert a Jemadar and three other men, belonging to the Darajat Mountain Battery stationed at Maymyo, to his cause, he was apprehended. His person was searched and two loaded Browning automatic pistols and a number of cartridges, two pages of formula for the manufacture of bombs, some money, and a few other articles were found. He was produced before Sessions Judge, Mandalay, on December 14, 1915, under Rule 2 of Section 2 of the Defence of India Act, 1915; 124, 124-A, 131 I.P.C. (spreading inflammatory reports to assist the King's enemies, sedition, attempting to seduce soldiers from the allegiance to the King and circulating statements with the intention of promoting feelings of enmity and hatred between different sections of His Majesty's subjects; attempting to seduce the soldiers of the Mountain Battery, Maymyo, from their duty by distribution of highly inflammatory and anti-government literature).

The farce of the trial, which went on for a few days concluded on 15 December 1915 awarding death penalty to Pathak. After the judgement he was requested by one of his friends to appeal for mercy. A great deal annoyed with his friend, he exclaimed: "With tyranny and injustice all on their side, it is they who should beg forgiveness and not I." He was hanged in January 1916 in the Mandalay jail.[65]

As is well-known the Ghadrites could not achieve much success. But by their great sufferings and sacrifices, they did add vitality and vigour to the struggle for freedom.

VII

Like the Ghadrites a group of revolutionaries in India had also planned to overthrow the British yoke during the war. Rash Behari Bose was the leader of this group; and their plan was to effect the rising of the troops at the following cantonments: Mianmir (Lahore), Jullundur, Bannu, Kohat, Nowshera, Rawalpindi, Kapurthala, Ferozepur, Meerut, Agra, Kanpur, Allahabad, Benares Faizabad, Lucknow, Ambala etc., on 21 February 1915. Everything was very well planned and if it had succeeded the British rule would have come to an end. But this was not to happen in 1915: a government agent in the garb of a revolutionary passed information to the government who acted promptly and foiled the 'deadliest of all the conspiracies." There was a serious fall-out. Hundreds of revolutionaries were caught. Out of them as many as seven were hanged and 44 sent to Andamans.

Bhai Parmanand, the great Arya activist, was considered a part, and an important part of this conspiracy. He was arrested and tried for treason. How the government viewed him is best described in the words of Bhai Parmanand himself:

Mr. Pitman (the government prosecutor) spiritedly contended that I was such an arch conspirator that even Har Dayal could take lessons from me. It may be there was no direct evidence against me but that was because, like the snake hidden in the grass, I had done my work silently and in darkness, and was the more dangerous on that account. Why was there no evidence? Because I had done my work with the greatest circumspection, taking care to avoid everything which might betray me. I then remembered the words of the British consul at Sanfrancisco, who said to a friend of mine, "We are not afraid of Har Dayal he speaks out his thoughts. But we are most afraid of Bhai Parmanand, for he says nothing, and one never knows what he is at." Strange indeed is this conundrum; no escape in action, nor any in inaction.[66]

Bhai Parmanand denied the charges. His arguments, however, cut no ice with the judges who awarded him death sentence on 13 September 1915. Later, however, the extreme penalty was changed to transportation for life to the Andamans. When he had spent about five years in the Cellular jail, Port Blair, he was released on the intercession of C.F. Andrews on 20 April 1920.

Was Parmanand really innocent as he has tried to show in the above statement? A very pertinent reply to this question was provided by the great martyr Kartar Singh 'Saraba' during the course of a discussion over Saraba's statement that 'Parmanand had blessed his mission'. On being asked by the latter why he played such a dangerous game and rotted in jail when he was living in happiness and comfort in America, he replied : "life was to him a burden even in America, that his heart used to burn to hear the Americans abuse us saying Damned Hindus". "I indeed wished to die," he said, "and have come here to die." "But you are also dragging me to the gallows with you," said Parmanand. "Yes, you are really responsible for all that I have done", he replied.

> I was taken aback by his bold statement Parmanand observed, and asked for an explanation. He then recalled to mind what had passed in the room in the drug-store in America. He had come to me one night and we slept there together. He had a wound on his wrist and he wished to have it treated in our hospital the next day. That night I asked him "Do you know the history of India?" He said "yes". Then I asked him how it was that the nation had become so dead and slavish that a steady stream of invasions had flowed on to it from the north-west for over 700 years; countless people had been carried away in captivity while the heads of many more had been cut off with as little concern as if they were a herd of sheep? But in the life of that very nation, we saw in the recent history of the Punjab the rise of a new strength which had not only put an end to all invasions but had turned the course in an entirely different direction. What was the significance of this wonderful achievement? Kartar Singh was thrown into a fit of deep reflection. At last he recalled to his mind the saying of Guru Govind

Singh "Many of the birds will I cause to be killed before the name of Govind Singh I get". He it was who had worked this miracle and his method which had been evolved out of sacrifices was the offering up of heads, a method which his father had followed by sacrificing his own life. By destroying the attachment to life Guru Govind had implanted in the minds of men the seeds of fearless courage by which death once for all lost for them its terrors. "That same night I resolved to give my life for my country". Kartar Singh told me.[67]

Comment is superfluous on this. The story provides justification for Parmanand being called '*guru*' of revolutionaries" as also for his trial for 'treason'.

The revolutionary movement seems to have cooled off after 1915-16 for some time. Some people think that the harsh treatment meted out to the revolutionaries had brought this change. But it was really a temporary cessation of their activities. The government could kill the individuals but not the movement which revived after 1918.

VIII

The teachings of Swami Dayananda inculcated in the hearts of Arya Samajists immense *deshabhakti* (patriotism) and *deshabhimana* (national honour) and when asked to make sacrifices for the well-being and honour of the motherland, hundreds of them came forward to do so with a smile on their faces. They suffered in jails, and died on the gallows so that (India) could be free, happy and prosperous.

References

1. R.C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. II, pp. 265-66.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 266.
3. For details see chapter 4.
4. See *ibid.*
5. For details about their life and activities see Part II.
6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*
8. A resident of U.P. (district Moradabad), the one-handed Amba Prasad was a great revolutionary. Before he was 25, he published a nationalist journal called *Halum* from Moradabad. For 'a seditious article' he was given 18 months' r.i. He joined *Bharatmata* and again wrote 'seditious pieces' and in consequence again suffered a jail term for 18 months. In 1906, he shifted to Punjab and took charge of a nationalist paper *India* (Gujranwala). He took a prominent part in the Punjab unrest of 1907 and was jailed for over a year. He worked in association with fiery Ajit Singh and established Bharat Mata Book society which published a lot of seditious literature. Fearing arrest and prosecution he left India along with Ajit Singh. He went to Kabul, then to Iran, and Turkey, later to Kabul and finally to Iran where he was secured by the British agents. They tortured him to death.
9. For details see Home Political, Deposit, No. 23, October 1909; A, Nos. 25-26, January 1910.
10. These efforts were not very successful for there was great demoralization in the masses at that time.
11. Home Political A, Nos. 154-55, October 1909 vide Satya M. Rai, *Punjabi Heroic Tradition*, p. 17.
12. Home Political A, Nos. 154-55, October 1909.
13. See Part II of the book for details on this count.
14. See Part II for his biographical sketch.
15. In fact the Police visited his house, on 5 November 1909 too but finding him out of station, they waited until he came back on 8 November.
16. Bhai Parmanand, *The Story of My Life*, pp. 40-41.
17. Mr. Bevan Petman Bar-at-law, the government advocate, represented the Crown. The trial began on Thursday 1 March 1910, at Lahore.
18. Bhai Parmanand, *op cit.*, pp. 42-43.
19. See above.
20. The details of their evidence and cross-examination being interesting are reproduced in full from *The Tribune*, dated 3-4 March 1910:

Bakshi Tek Chand M.A.

I am Secretary to D.A.V. College Managing Committee from February 1907. Bhai Parmanand was a Professor of History in the Dayanand College. He was appointed according to the Resolution of the Managing Committee dated 1st February 1903. He continued to be Professor till his house was searched. He was getting Rs. 75 per mensem as subsistence allowance. He was sent to Africa. The resolution of the Managing Committee sending him is dated 20th February 1905 but he left some time in June 1905. He was sent on a requisition by Lala Mohkam Chand from South Africa to popularize the D.A.V. College and collect subscriptions for the same in Africa. The letter of Mohkam Chand is from Durban dated 15th December

1904 and addressed to Lala Hans Raj from whom it came to the Managing Committee (the letter was filed in Court). The forwarding letter of Lala Hans Raj addressed to Lala Sain Das was also filed. I can identify the signatures of Lala Hans Raj and Lala Sain Das. Some money came from South Africa. Mohkam Chand sent some money to cover the expenses of Bhai Parmanand's mission. This money had originally been sent to Lala Munshi Ram, late Governor of Gurukul to cover the passage money of a preacher. It appears from the file that Lala Munshi Ram paid that money to Lala Hans Raj. There is one letter addressed by Parmanand to Lala Hans Raj dated 9th November 1905 from Johannesburg (Letter was filed).

Bhai Parmanand raised some subscriptions in South Africa. It appears from the Cash Book that Rs. 6349.146 were collected through him and sent to the Committee. This amount included donations for building two cubicles in the College Boarding House. We built the rooms and put the tablets. The money donated was by two Madrasi gentlemen in South Africa. The Managing Committee sent letters of thanks to the principal donors. The Managing Committee passed a resolution thanking Bhai Parmanand. The resolution is dated 15th April 1906. (The resolution was put on file).

Bhai Pramanand went from Africa to England. He originally joined the Cambridge University and subsequently went over to Kingh's College, London. He wrote to us that he was preparing for M.A. examination in History. He wrote to someone that he appeared in the examination and put in a thesis but could not pass. The Managing Committee gave him a scholarship of Rs. 1,500 a year for 2 years. The idea of studying in England was accepted by the Managing Committee. Bhai Parmanand resumed his work in the College on 9th April 1908. He then went to Burma in the first week of August 1908. The Managing Committee paid him the expenses of going and coming. Bhai Jagat Singh, Superintendent, School Boarding House, accompanied him. He was sent there to collect subscriptions for Ayurvedic system of medicine. These classes belong to the University. He collected Rs. 6,525 for the classes. On the 16th October 1908 the Secretary wrote a letter to the Principal on the success of the mission and discussing the scheme of the Ayurvedic class. (The letter was filed). One letter from Mr. K.G.P. Ayer, dated 5th October 1908, from Rangoon was written to me, as Secretary showing that money was collected for Ayurvedic class (Letter was put on file). The list of subscriptions in Rangoon and Mandalay and other places for Ayurvedic College was also filed). The list was sent by Mr. Ayer. Bhai Parmanand was a member of the Arya Samaj. I had occasion to come into contact with Bhai Parmanand as Secretary. It is not within my knowledge that he carried on any political propaganda. I have no knowledge of his being a desperate and dangerous man. I had occasion to talk with

him but never on any political subject. I do not know if he has any property, I believe he has no other source of income excepting subsistence allowance he got. He delivered lectures under the auspices of the Arya Samaj on religious and social subjects. He has not to may knowledge delivered any lecture on political subjects.

Cross examined by Mr. Petman—I do not remember to have heard any historical lecture from him.

Professor Devi Dyal B.A.

D.A.V. College, Lahore

I have been the Senior Professor of Mathematics in D.A.V. College, Lahore, foı the last 4 years. I know Bhai Parmanand very well. He was my student and my fellow worker also. He has been delivering lectures in the Arya Samaj on religious, social and moral subjects. I do not know whether he has taken any part in any political propaganda. I do not know whether he had any connection with Ajit Singh or his party. I do not think him to be a dangerous or desperate man. I have known him to be a man of very popular and good character. He was sent to Africa, Madras, and Burma as a religious preacher. I do not exactly remember but he came back from Madras after summer vacation. He joined the College in October or November 1909. I have seen him in the house in which he last lived and which was searched. He was living in that house before summer vacation. I do not know how he went in this house after summer vacation. I do not know whether any body else was also living in the house. He has no other income than the bare allowance of Rs. 75 from the D.A.V. College.

Cross-examined by Mr. Petman—Parmanand is not connected with the College just now. Asked why?—witness stated that question lies within the province of the Managing Committee.

Parmanand might have known Kishen Singh as the latter was Manager of the Hindu Orphanage. I have never known Munshi Ram.

Re-examined by Lala Dwarka Das, I have never seen Ajit Singh with Parmanand.

Professor Dewan Chand, M.A.

I am Professor of Philosophy in the D.A.V. College since 1904. I have known Bhai Parmanand intimately. He has been working in the Arya Samaj as lecturer sometimes on religious or educational sometimes on social subjects. He has not to my knowledge taken any part in politics. I don't think he is a man of violent tendencies. I would not call him a dangerous or desperate man. I know the house where he lived and which was searched. He came to Lahore in the last week of October from Madras. He went to the house in the beginning of November. He was occupying that house before the summer vacation. He left the house before summer vacation.

As his family did not come up, Kishen Singh met me and told me that he was leaving the house which will save one month's rent as he had not given one month's notice to the owner of the house. Parmanand took the house from Kishen Singh. I do not know whether Ajit Singh ever lived in that house. I do not know whether Bhai Parmanand had any connection with Ajit Singh or his party. I do not know whether Parmanand has any property. I do not think Parmanand had any income besides the College allowance. I am one of those Professors whom D.A.V. College grants subsistence allowances. I am an M.A. in English of the Punjab University and in History of the Calcutta University.

Cross examined by Mr. Petman—Parmanand was engaged in writing a book called History of India. I knew Kishen Singh for some years, he was Superintendent of Hindu Orphanage at one time. I could recognise Ajit Singh. I have no acquaintance with him. I do not remember to have held any conversation with Ajit Singh. When Kishen Singh came out from jail I used to come across him occasionally in Bazar. I went to see Parmanand 3 or 4 times a week at least in his house. I never saw Lal Chand, Ajit Singh or Sufi Amba Parshad in the house. His wife was not there in the house. The rent of the house was about Rs. 13. There are 3 rooms on the ground floor and three rooms on the first floor. We are given 15 rupees as house allowance and we are expected to spend as much. Parmanand occupied the house for 3 days in November. I don't remember how I met Lal Chand for the first time. Lal Chand was selling books lately. I have never been to his house. Re-examined by Lala Dwarka Das—I know Lal Chand by sight. I had no talk with him.

Bakshi Ram Rattan, B.A. B.T.

Headmaster, D.A.V. High School.

I am working on Rs. 75 per month. People regard it as subsistence allowance. I joined the school on 11th May 1905. I have known Parmanand. I gave him 2 letters of introduction when he went to Burma to collect funds. Witness identified his letters already on the file as p. 12, 13. He went to Burma to collect funds for the Ayurvedic Class of the D.A.V. College. By the term other mission on which he comes to Burma, I mean the collection of funds; the first mission being the preaching of Arya Samaj. The letter is addressed to my uncle. Parmanand did no political work in Lahore to my knowledge. He delivered lectures in the Arya Samaj on religious, social and educational subjects. I have never heard any political lecture from him to my knowledge. My opinion about him is that he is a man of peaceful habits. From what I know of him I could not say that he was a dangerous man. I know nothing as to whether Parmanand had any connection with Ajit Singh.

Cross examined by Mr. Petman—When I wrote the letter on 8th

August 1908 I knew that Parmanand had worked in Africa for the college. The term "other mission" refers to Ayurvedic class of the college. Parmanand's work in Africa I regard as a chapter in the history of the Arya Samaj but his work in Burma is a chapter in the history of the college and not of the Arya Samaj. The work of the college is more patriotic than religious.

To court—

Parmanand's mission to Africa was for the general funds of the college while his mission to Burma was for the Ayurvedic class of the college.

Lala Ram Prashad

Late Secretary of the *Pratinidhi Sabha* (general controlling body of the Arya Samaj, College section).

I was Secretary of the *Pratinidhi Sabha* from July 1909 till the beginning of February 1910. Parmanand went to Madras during this period on behalf of the *Pratinidhi Sabha* which bore the expenses. He was sent to preach Vedic religion. He returned in the end of October. I have known him intimately for about 15 years. I was Secretary of the *Pratinidhi Sabha* for the first time from 1903 to 1907. I have had occasions to meet Parmanand during this period. He did not take part in any political movement. He had been working in the Samaj as a social and religious preacher. To my knowledge Parmanand had no connection with Ajit Singh and his associates. He is a very amiable man. He had no other source of income but the college allowance. Before summer vacation he lived in the very house which was searched. He was then living with his family. When searches took place I came to know that Kishen Singh had hired the house. I never saw Kishen Singh, Lal Chand or Amba Parshad in the house. Parmanand lived in the house for two or three days after summer vacation.

Cross examined by Mr. Petman—Parmanand came back from England in 1907. He went to Madras in July 1909. Since May 1909 I have constantly seen Parmanand.

Bhai Mohkam Chand

I went to Africa about 13 years ago. I came back in November last. I was there in 1905-06. I wrote to Lala Hans Raj, Principal, D.A.V. College for a preacher about 7 or 8 years ago. I sent some money to Lala Munshi Ram for a preacher (witness filed a letter each from Lala Hans Raj and Lala Munshi Ram). Lala Munshi Ram wrote that he could not arrange and he wrote to Lala Hans Raj for the same. Lala Hans Raj replied to the effect that Bhai Parmanand, M.A. is coming. I asked Lala Munshi Ram to transfer the money to Lala Hans Raj. I sent for Parmanand for preaching Vedic religion. Parmanand stayed there for about 5 months. He travelled in the colonies. I made arrangements for his

putting up. I went to see him very often. From Durban he went to Petermertaburg, Ladysmith, Dundy, Johannesburg (Transvaal). I accompanied him on the journey. He delivered lectures on Vedic religion. He did not attend any political meeting (One cutting from *Natal Mercury* produced by the witness was filed in Court. Another cutting from *Natal Advertiser* was also filed. Both related in the visit of Bhai Parmanand in Africa). Parmanand established 3 or 4 branches of Arya Samaj there. He collected money for the D.A.V. College. (Two letters of Bhai Parmanand to witness were filed in order to prove that he carried on religious work). (One letter from Mr. Henry Dykman, President, Theosophical Society, to the witness was also produced and filed. The letter related to Parmanand's work in Africa). (*The Tribune*, 3 March 1910).

Lala Bura Mall

Bura Mall, Patwari, son of Hira Nand, Khatri, Patwari of Kariala, District Jhelum, Tehsil Chkwal, on S.A.:—

I know Bhai Tara Chand of Kariala. Bhai Tara Chand has got land in 3 villages, Kariala, Bhalla, and Mora Lassu, the whole coming up to 53 kanals and one marla of which 8 marlas are watered by well. He has also got a house and a *haveli*. The house is worth one thousand and the haveli worth 500. Bhai Tara Chand gets Rs. 12 a month as pension from the Government. He was Daffadar in the army. Bhai Tara Chand is the father of Bhai Parmanand.

Bhai Jagat Singh

Bhai Jagat Singh, son of Suchet Singh, Brahman, Superintendent, D.A.V. High School Boarding House and Missionary D.A.V. College, age 46:—

I have been teacher of Arya Samaj for 20 years. I have been Superintendent of the Boarding House in years 1890, 1893, 1900 and 1908. I have known Bhai Parmanand very well for 10 to 15 years. I went to Burma in the beginning of August 1908 for preaching Vedic religion and collecting funds for the Ayurvedic class of the College. Bhai Parmanand also accompanied me. I returned to Lahore on 5th October 1908. Bhai Parmanand remained with me all through the period. We lived and stayed together. Bhai Parmanand delivered lectures on Vedic religion. (*The Tribune*, 4 March 1910).

21. *Ibid.*
22. This man was made of very bad stuff and betrayed the movement when arrested in 1914.
23. For details about him see part II.
24. For details see *ibid.*
25. See Hardinge, *My Indian Years 1910-16*, pp. 121-22. Lady Hardinge has also given a very interesting account of the accident:

"Passing down the Chandney Chowk where the cheering was on all sides, I suddenly felt an upheaval and was thrown forward. When I recovered my place, I felt rather dazed and most decidedly deaf with loud singing in the head. The Viceroy turned to me and said, 'I am afraid, that was a bomb'.

The elephant had stopped. Then he called out: "Go on" and the procession started again. My impression was perfect stillness from the crowds until then, but when we restarted, there were voices raised and I heard 'bravo' amongst them.

I then began noticing more details; for instance that the *howdah*-back had gone and the Viceroy looked pale. I said, "Are you sure that you are not hurt?"

He answered, "I am not sure. I had a great shock, but I think I can go on."

A few seconds afterwards, I stretched back, and through a slit of the uniform near his right shoulder (the farthest from me) I could see red flesh appearing. Then I thought that shall I tell him he is wounded, which will frighten him, or to take the risk of the harm the jolt of the elephant may do him. I looked round again and noticed the legs of a man who was hanging backwards and dead. Then I quietly said, "Do let me stop the procession as I fear the man behind is dead." (We have moved on 150 yds.) He said: "Of course we cannot go on under these circumstances." I stopped the elephant and signed to Col. Maxwell on the elephant on the front. He ran up and the Viceroy said, "Can you do anything for the poor man behind?" And I said: "Would you like Col. Roberts to come? I think the Viceroy's shoulder is hurt."

Just then the Viceroy had a little convulsion and was rapidly losing consciousness. Regaining consciousness, he gave all instructions for the full carrying out of the ceremony.

After this there is nothing to tell excepting a history of the difficulties of getting him off the howdah and his clothes taken off. He was bleeding profusely from about six wounds. No one was in the house, but the staff did everything and managed him beautifully.

26. K.C. Ghosh, *The Role of Honour*, pp. 235-36.
27. For his biographical sketches, see Part II.
28. K.C. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 236
29. *Ibid.*
30. Part II, for details.
31. Quoted in Bhai Parmanand, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-81.
32. The account is based for the most part on Sumnesh Joshi, *Rajasthan Men Swatantrata Sangrama Ke Senani*, pp. 1-8.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-18.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Kesari Singh Barhat wrote the following 13 couplets (known as *Chetawani ra chungatya*) which exhorted Maharana Fateh Singh of Udaipur not to attend the Delhi *Durbar* 1903. They had the desired

affect; and the Maharana returned from Delhi without attending the *Durbar*.

पग-पग भ्रम्या पहाड़, धरा छोड़ राख्यो धरम,
महाराणा मेवाड़, हिरदै बशिया हिन्दरै ॥1॥
घणा घलिया घमासाण, राण सदा रहिया निडर,
पेखंता फुरमाण हलचल किम फतमल हुवें ॥2॥
गिरद गजां घमसाण, नहचै घर माई नहीं,
मावै किम महाराण, गज दो शेरा गिरद में ॥3॥
ओराने आशाण, हांका हरबल हालणों,
किम हाले कुल राण, हरबल शाहां हाकिया ॥4॥
नरियन्द शर नजराण, झुक करशी शरशी जिको,
पसरेलों किम पाण, पाण छतां थारो फता ॥5॥
शिर झुकिया शहशाह, सिहासन जिण शाम्हनै,
रलणो पँगत-राह, फाबे किम तोने फता ॥6॥
शक्ल चढ़ावे शीश, दान धरम जिणरो दियो,
शो खिताब बखशीश, ले वाण, किम ललचावसी ॥7॥
देखेला हिन्दवाण, निज सूरज दिश नेहसूं,
पण तारा परवाण, निरख निशाश न्हाकशी ॥8॥
देखे अञ्जस दीह, मुलकेलो मन ही मनां,
दम्भी गढ़ दल्लीह, शीश नयन्ता शीशबद ॥9॥
अंतवेर आखीह, पातल जै लांबा पहल,
राणा सर राखी, जिणारी शाखी शिर जटा ॥10॥
कठिण जमानो कौल, बांधै नर हिम्मत बिना,
वीरां हन्दो बोल, पातल सांगे पेखियो ॥11॥
अब लग सारां आश, राणा रीत कुल राखसी,
रहो रसाय सुख-रास, एकलिंग प्रभु आपरे ॥12॥
मान मोद शीशोद, राजनीति बल राखणो,
गवरमिण्टरी गोद, फल मीठा दीठा फता ॥13॥

Their Hindi rendering is as follows:

पाँवों-पाँवों पहाड़ों में भटकते फिरे, धरा छोड़कर धर्म को बचाया; इसीलिए महाराणा और मेवाड़ ये दो शब्द हिन्दुस्तान के हृदय में बस गए हैं ॥1॥ अनेक युद्ध हुए, तब भी महाराणा सदा निर्भय रहे। हे फतेसिंह, अब सिर्फ फरमानों को देखते ही यह हलचल कैसे मच गयी ? ॥2॥

जिसके हाथियों की युद्ध में उड़ी गरद (धूल) पृथिवी में नहीं समाती थी, वही महाराणा स्वयं दो सौ गज के गिरद (घेरे) में कैसे समा जाएगा ? ।।3।।

दूसरे राजाओं के लिए आसान होता कि वे हंकाले जाने पर शाही सवारी में आगे बढ़ते रहें, चलते रहें, परन्तु जिस महाराणा वश ने अपने हरोल में (आगे) बादशाहों को हांक लिया था (भगा दिया था), वह शाही सवारी में कैसे चलेगा ? ।।4।।

दूसरे सब राजा झुक-झुककर नजराना देंगे, यह उनके लिए तो सहज होगा। परन्तु हे फतहसिंह, तेरे हाथ में तो तलवार रहती है, उसके रहते हुए नजराने का हाथ कैसे आगे फैलेगा ? ।।5।।

जिसके सिंहासन के सामने बादशाहों के सिर झुके हैं, फतेहसिंह, अब पंक्ति में मिल जाना तुझे कैसे फबेगा ? ।।6।।

जिसके दिये हुए "धर्म" के दान को संसार सिर पर चढ़ा रहा है, वह (हिन्दूपति) खिताबों की बखशीश लेने के लिए कैसे ललचायेगा ?।।7।।

समस्त हिन्दू अपने सूर्य की ओर स्नेहपूर्वक ताकेंगे। परन्तु जब उनको तुम "तारा" बने हुए (स्टार आँफ इण्डिया) दिखाई दोगे तो वे अवश्य ही निःश्वास निकालेंगे ।।8।।

हे शीशोदिया ! दिल्ली का दम्भी किला तुझे सिर झुकाते हुए देखकर मन-ही-मन हँसेगा और इस दिन को अपने लिए अभिमान का दिन समझेगा ।।9।।

पहले महाराणा प्रताप ने अन्तिम समय में जो प्रतिज्ञाएँ की थीं, उनको आज तक सब महाराणाओं ने निभाया और इसकी साक्षी खुद तुम्हारे सिर की जटा है ।।10।।

मनुष्य अपने में हिम्मत न होने पर ही यह सिद्धान्त बाँध लिया करता है कि 'जमाना' मुश्किल है। पर इस वाणी के रहस्य को राणा सांगा और प्रताप ने समझा था ।।11।।

अब तक सबको यही आशा रही है कि महाराणा अपने वंश की रीति को रखेंगे, सुख-राशि भगवान् एकलिंग आपकी सहायता पर रहें ।।12।।

हे शीशोदिया फतेहसिंह, अपने मान और हर्ष को राजनीति के बल से ही रखना होगा। इस गवर्नमेण्ट की गोद में कभी मीठे फल देखे हैं ? ।।13।।

For details see Satyaketu Vidyalankara, *op. cit.*, Vol II, pp. 605-6.

36. See part II.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*
39. See K.C. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-92.
40. *History of Freedom Movement of India*, Vol. II, p. 313.
41. See Part II for details.
42. A specimen of the literature produced by Gainda Lal Dixit and his comrades is seen in the following poster issued by them in 1918:

ओ३म्

वन्देमातरम् वन्देमातरम्

स्वदेशाभिमानियों के नाम सन्देश

वीरो, आगे बढ़ो और फोर्ट विलियम का किला (कलकत्ते में ब्रिटिश शासन का केन्द्र) छीन लो। इस देश में कितने अंग्रेज हैं ? प्रिय देश वासियों, इन्हें जल्दी से पकड़ लो। हम सब यह बात अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं कि सोने की चिड़िया कहलाने वाली हमारी स्वर्णभूमि भारत पिछले छः सौ वर्षों से विदेशियों के अत्याचारों में पीड़ित हो रही है। 4 या 5 वर्षों तक यवन (मुसलमान) हमारी मातृभूमि पर भीषण अत्याचार करते रहे। उन्होंने केवल हमारे भौतिक शरीरों को ही कष्ट पहुँचाया, किन्तु अपनी सभ्यता का अभिमान करने वाले अंग्रेजों ने सौ वर्ष के भीतर ही हमसे हमारी सब वस्तुयें छीन ली हैं। उन्होंने हमारी सम्पत्ति छीन कर इंग्लैंड पहुँचा दी है। हमारी महत्ता और गरिमा का नाश कर दिया है। हमें नामर्द बना दिया है। हम सब उनके राजनैतिक ढोंग या गुप्त कूटनीति का शिकार हो गये हैं। उन्होंने झूठे प्रलोभनों में फँसाकर हमें बेवकूफ बना दिया है और चारों ओर ऐसा जाल बिछा दिया है कि हमें हर पग पर कांटे चुभते हैं। किसी व्यक्ति ने इस विषय में सत्य ही कहा है—

> "आपने भारत की जनता को अपने प्रेम में मोहान्ध बना कर उन्हें मार डाला है। आप हमारे आराध्य देव बन गये हैं, आपने हमें पहले अपना भक्त बनाया और फिर मार डाला। आपका वध कितना भयंकर था ! आपने पहले हमें अपनाबनाया और फिर मार डाला। जो व्यक्ति मरणासन्न थे, उन्हें बार-बार जिलाया और फिर मार डाला।"

अब भी हमें इसी प्रकार से स्वराज्य का प्रलोभन दिया जा रहा है। किन्तु आप यह स्मरण रखिये कि कोई भी देश अब तक तलवार पकड़े बग़ैर न तो स्वतंत्र हुआ है, न कभी स्वतंत्र होगा। अब अपने देश से प्रेम करने वालों को अपने देश की रक्षा के लिए वीर शिवाजी और प्रताप की भाँति तलवारें अपने हाथ में लेनी चाहिएँ और इस पद्य में कही गयी बात का प्रचार करना चाहिए—"अंग्रेजों को मार दो और उनकी खालों में भुस भर दो।" भारत के बहादुर नर-नारियों, आपमें से प्रत्येक को अब यह प्रतिज्ञा करनी चाहिए कि जब तक आप दुष्ट, बेईमान, चालाक, धोखेबाज और धूर्त अंग्रेजों को, जो हमारे भारत पर अत्याचार कर रहे हैं, देश से बाहर नहीं भगा देंगे, तब तक आप अपने सभी प्रियतम कार्यों का परित्याग कर देंगे और अपनी सभी शक्तियाँ केवल इस एक कर्तव्य को पूरा करने में लगा देंगे और उन्हें (अंग्रेजों को) यह स्पष्टरूप से बता देंगे कि अब आप उनकी धूर्ततापूर्ण चालाकियों से कभी नहीं ठगे जायेंगे और आपका एक मात्र लक्ष्य और उद्देश्य सदैव यह होगा कि आप उनको पूरी तरह से नेस्तनाबूद कर देंगे।

सब भारतवासियों को अब एक स्वर से यह घोषणा करनी चाहिए—"अब से हिन्दुस्तान वास्तव में सच्चा हिंदुस्तान होगा।"

Vide Satyaketu Vidyalankara, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 610-11. Gainda Lal was also a good poet. He had composed many revolutionary poems. One of his poems which was read by revolutionaries while taking oath to make supreme sacrifice in India's cause of freedom is given below:

है देश को स्वाधीन करना जन्म मम संसार में—
तत्पर रहूंगा मैं सदा अंग्रेजदल-संहार में।
अन्याय का बदला चुकाना मुख्य मेरा कर्म है,
मद-दलन अत्याचारियों का यह प्रथम शुचि कर्म है।
मेरी अनेकों भावनायें उठ रही हृद्-धाम में,
बस शान्त केवल कर सकूंगा मैं उन्हें संग्राम में।
स्वाधीनता का मूल्य बढ़कर है सभी संसार से,
बदला चुकेगा हरणकर्त्ता के रुधिर की धार से।
अंग्रेज का सिर सहित भक्ति जननी के अर्पण करूँ।
हो तुष्ट दुःशासन-रुधिर के स्नान से यह द्रौपदी,
हो सहस्रबाहु-विनाश से यह रेणुका सुख में पगी।

है कठिन अत्याचार का ऋण ब्रिटिश ने हमको दिया,
सह व्याज उसके ऋण चुकाने का कठिन प्रण है किया।
मैं अमर हूं मेरा कभी भी नाश हो सकता नहीं,
है देह नश्वर त्राण इसका हो कहीं सकता नहीं।
होते हमारे, मात जग में पददलित होगी नहीं,
रहते करोड़ों पुत्र के जननी दुखित होगी नहीं।
उद्धार हो जब देश का इस क्लेश-कारागार से,
भयभीत तब होंगे नहीं, हम जेल से, तलवार से।
रहते हुए तन, प्राण रण से मुख न मोड़ेंगे कभी,
कर शक्ति है जब तक न अपने अस्त्र छोड़ेंगे कभी।
परतन्त्र होकर स्वर्ग में भी वास की इच्छा नहीं,
स्वाधीन होकर नरक में रहना भला उससे कहीं।
है स्वर्णपिंजर-वास अतिदुखपूर्ण सुन्दर कीर को,
वह चाहता स्वच्छन्द बिचरण अतिविपिन गम्भीर को।
जंजीर की झंकार में शुभ गीत गाते जायेंगे,
तलवार के आघात में निज जय मचाते जाएँगे।
हे ईश, भारतवर्ष में शत बार मेरा जन्म हो,
कारण सदा ही मृत्यु का देशोपकारक कर्म हो।

vide *Ibid.*, pp. 614-15.

43. K.C. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-43.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*
47. For details see Chapter 5.
48. R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, vol II, pp. 281-82.
49. *Ibid.*
50. Indulal Yajnik, *Shyamaji Krishnaverma*, p. 98.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 228.
56. See *ibid.*, pp. 220-335.
57. See K.C. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-58, 272-74.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 272-74.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 254-58.
60. For biographical details see Part II.
61. R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 394.

62. Satya M. Rai, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.
63. K.C. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-74.
64. See part II, for details.
65. See K.C. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 351-53.
66. Bhai Parmanand, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-86.
67. *Ibid.*

PART TWO

CHAPTER 9

Eminent Arya Freedom Fighters 1875-1918

As the title of the section shows, we have endeavoured to include here in this catalogue as many eminent Arya freedom fighters as was possible for us to collect details about. As this volume covers the period up to 1918 only, we have given details of the freedom fighters' lives and activities up to this date (*i.e.* 1918) only. Their activities of later years will be dealt with in volume II of this work which will be published before long.

AJIT SINGH

Ajit Singh,[1] son of Arjan Singh, a Jat Sikh of village Khatkar Kalan in district Jullundur (Punjab) was born on 3 February 1881. He passed his Matriculation examination from Anglo-Sanskrit High School, Jullundur and B.A. from D.A.V. College, Lahore. Here he came in contact with Lala Hans Raj and Lala Lajpat Rai and became an Arya activist.

After his education was over, he became a teacher. For some time he 'coached a Russian suspect, named Lasseff.' He first came to notice as a political activist in 1907, when he joined Kishan Singh and others and organized a society called the Bharat Mata Sabha. He addressed a series of meetings at Lahore, Lyallpur, Rawalpindi etc. at which 'many seditious speeches were delivered to protest against the Canal Colonisation Bill.' Some of Ajit Singh's speeches 'were particularly violent' and he and Lala Lajpat Rai were consequently deported to Mandalay on 2 June 1907.

There was a lot of protest against his arrest throughout the country. In consequence, he was released in November, 1907. His return to the Punjab was celebrated by great popular demonstrations. He did not however give up his work on return. Rather he stepped it up this time giving it a really revolutionary touch. He along with his brothers Swaran Singh, Kishan Singh and famous revolutionary, Sufi Amba Parshad, published a number of pamphlets through the medium of the Bharat Mata Book Agency and propagated 'revolution'.

The Government took a serious view of his activities but before they could act he fled away with Amba Parshad and Zia-ul-Haq to Persia. He went to Europe in 1911, where he worked as a teacher of Oriental languages at Lausanne and afterwards at Geneva, under the assumed name of Mirza Hasan Khan. At the end of 1913 he went to Paris where he got in touch with the revolutionary party headed by Madame Cama and Shyamaji Krishnaverma. In September of the following year, he went to Rio-de-Janeiro with a message to Jodh Singh (alias Hasan Zade) to the effect that revolutionary work was awaiting him in Berlin. Efforts were made by the Ghadr Party to get Ajit Singh to visit the United States on a lecture tour, but without success. Soon after the outbreak of the WWI, he went to Brazil where he stayed and worked for India's freedom in every conceivable manner up to the time covered in the present study.

Description (*1918*):* Medium height and build, sallow complexion, dresses in European fashion and has cut his hair.

AMIR CHAND

Amir Chand[2] was born in 1869 in an affluent Aggarwal (Vaishya) family of Delhi. Hukam Chand, his father, was a staunch Arya Samajist and a high official in the Judiciary. Amir was married at twelve while still in school. His wife died after about five years and he took 'a vow not to marry again.'

After finishing his schooling he took to teaching. He had from the very beginning a political bent of mind and nationalist

*The physical description given here and elsewhere in the book is based on intelligence reports made between c. 1910 and 1918.

politics appealed to him a great deal. He, therefore, devoted most of his time to politics—teaching was his second love. The Partition of Bengal (1905) and the measures that the government adopted to crush the rising tide of nationalism shaped him into 'a staunch revolutionary.' He took active part in the *Swadeshi* and boycott movements. He started an Urdu weekly, the *Akash*, in 1908. He appointed Ram Chandra (a revolutionary from N.W.F.P.) as its editor but he himself wrote a lot on national questions for the paper. He gave inspiring lectures to his students and inculcated great love for the motherland in their hearts. As a result hundreds of patriots, like Hardayal, were created by him.

Amir Chand did not appreciate the way the Congress was proceeding towards *Swarajya.* He believed that freedom could come only by revolutionary measures. As he was not a mere dreamer, he gave practical shape to his ideas. To begin with, he collected a band of revolutionaries around him, formed contacts with other revolutionary organisations in U.P., Punjab and Bengal, and planned to throw a bomb on Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy, when he entered Delhi, the new capital of India for the first time on 23 December 1912 so that the British Government could be demoralized. The plan was a success : Amir Chand's men threw a bomb on Hardinge as the 'Viceregal procession' passed through Chandni Chowk. Police enquiries which followed found Master Amir Chand's hand in the whole episode. In consequence, he was arrested. There was a farce of a trial and he was sentenced to death. The appeals made for justice to the Chief Court, Punjab and the Privy Council, London, brought no positive result. The great revolutionary was hanged on 11 May 1915 in the Ambala jail.

AZAD, DAULAT RAM

Daulat Ram,[3] son of Shankar Das Arora, was born in 1887 at Pindi Bhattian, district Gujranwala. His father, once headmaster of the Vernacular Middile School, Ramnagar, in the same district, was a distinguished Arya Samajist, who according to an intelligence report, 'used often to communicate to the Press articles containing charges against Government.' Daulat Ram

followed his father's example and stirred up trouble at Ramnagar.

He was a poet who used to write beautiful patriotic poems, using Azad as his *nom-de-plume*. Through his inspiring poems and equally inspiring lectures, he aroused patriotic feeling among the masses.

Description : Tall, stout build, wheatish complexion, polite and plausible, dresses in Bengali fashion.

BAL MUKAND, BHAI

Bal Mukand,[4] son of Bhai Mathura Das, was born in the year 1889 at Kariala a small village in tehsil Chakival, district Jhelum (Punjab) in a well-to-do Mohyal Brahamana family.

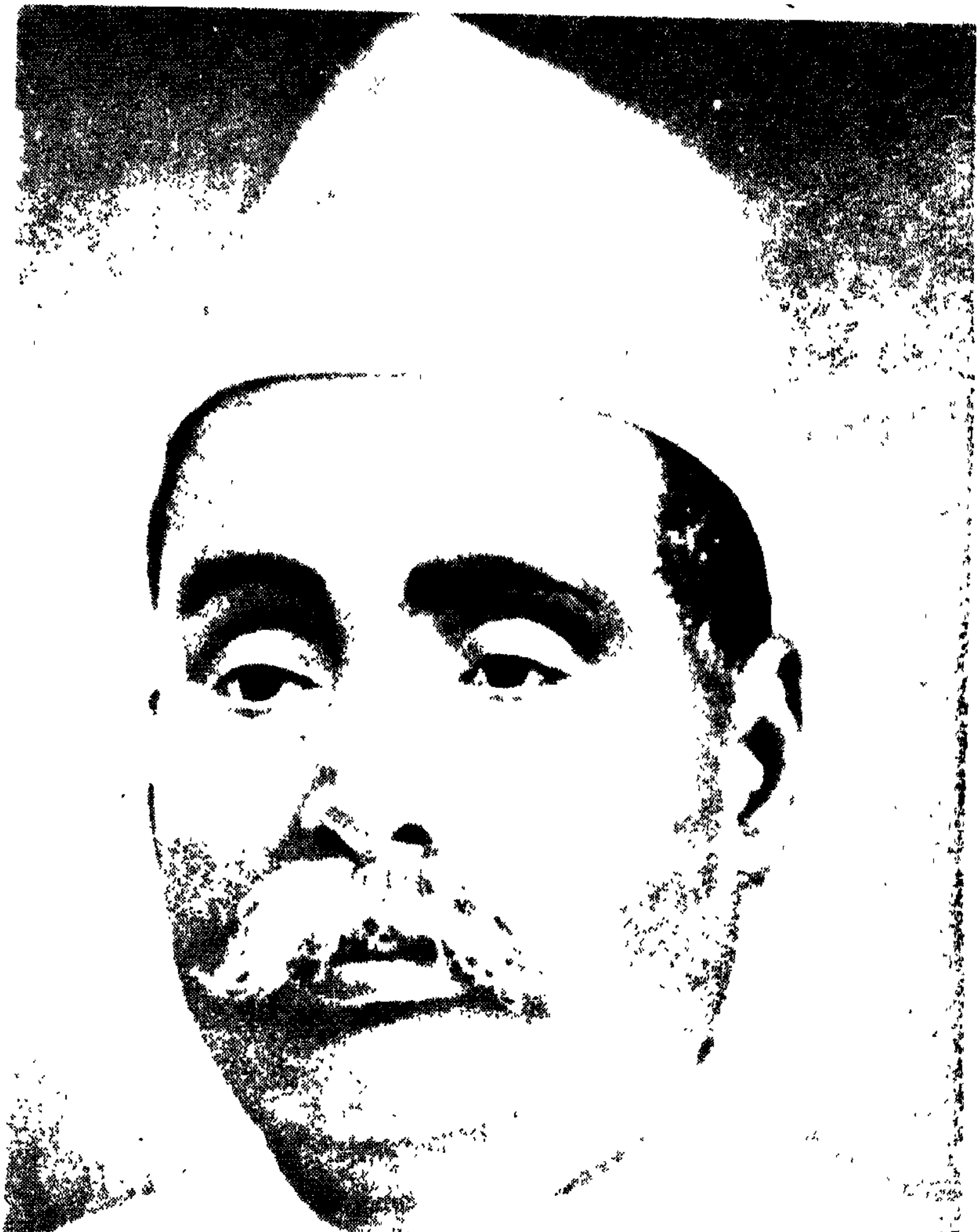
He was a first cousin of the famous Arya revolutionary Bhai Parmanand. After finishing his education (B.A. from DAV College, Lahore and BT-1910), he took to the profession of teaching at the Albert Victor Anglo Sanskrit High School, Abbotabad. But his heart did not lie there: he plunged into nationalistic politics. He did useful work, though silently during the 1907 crisis.

He did not like the politics of the moderates and therefore took to constructive work. He dedicated himself to the cause of Harijan upliftment. He assisted Lajpat Rai in establishing many schools for Harijan children in the Jullundur area.

Subsequently, Bal Mukand came in contact with Hardayal and Rash Behari Bose and joined the circle of Delhi revolutionaries (Amir Chand group) who were instrumental in throwing a bomb at Lord Hardinge in Chandni Chowk in the year 1912. About five months later a bomb was exploded in the Lawrence Garden of Lahore outside the Montgomery Hall where Europeans were enjoying a ball on 17 May 1913. The investigations that followed these two cases, revealed Bal Mukand's connection with them. As a result, he was arrested in 1914 from Jodhpur where he was working as tutor of the Jodhpur Maharaja's sons. There was farce of a trial and he 'was held guilty of complicity in both the bomb explosions and distribution of objectionable literature.' He was sentenced to death and was hanged in the Ambala Central jail on 11 May 1915 He was just 32 then.

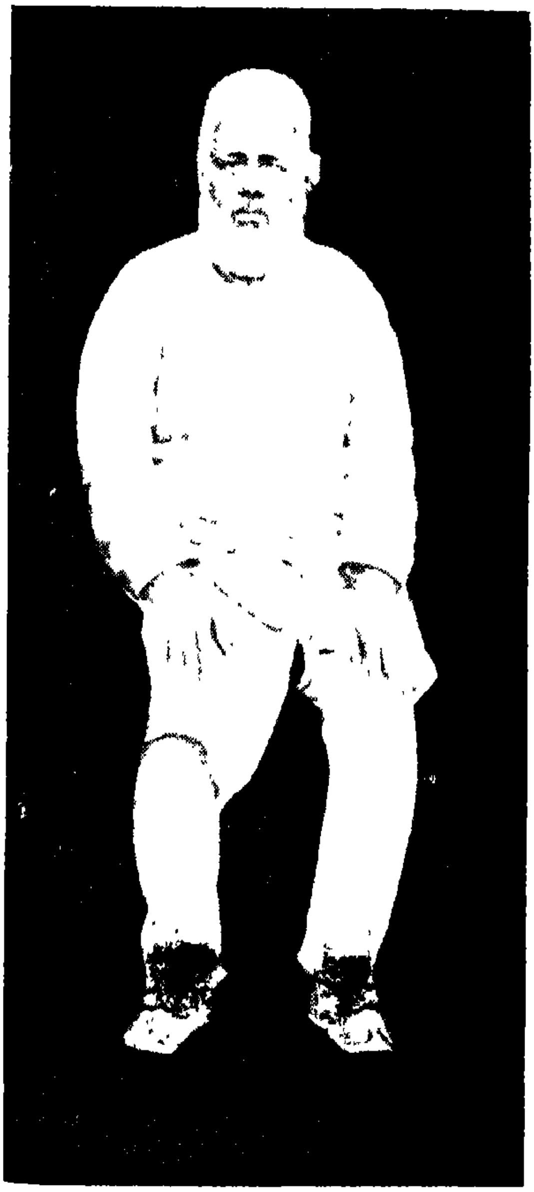
Swami Dayananda Saraswati

Swami Shraddhananda



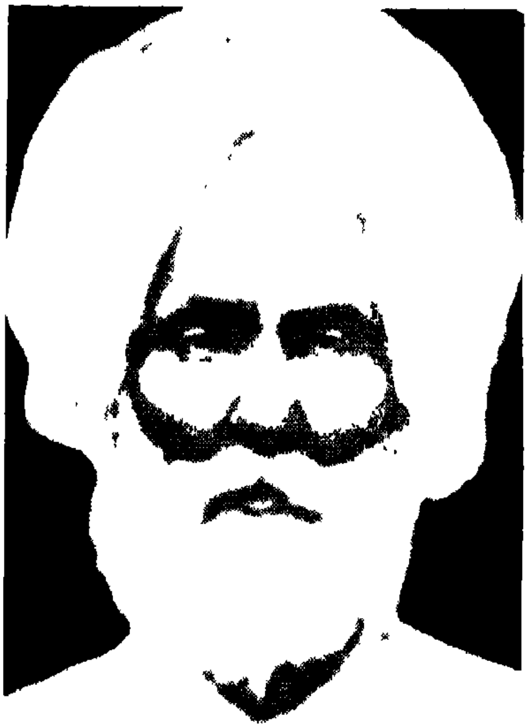
Lala Lajpat Rai

Shyamaji Krishnaverma

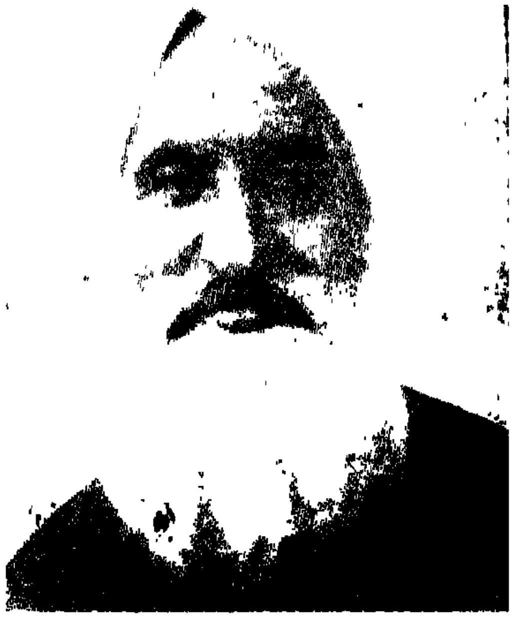


Murlidhar

Ajit Singh (1907)



Arjan Singh F/o Ajit Singh

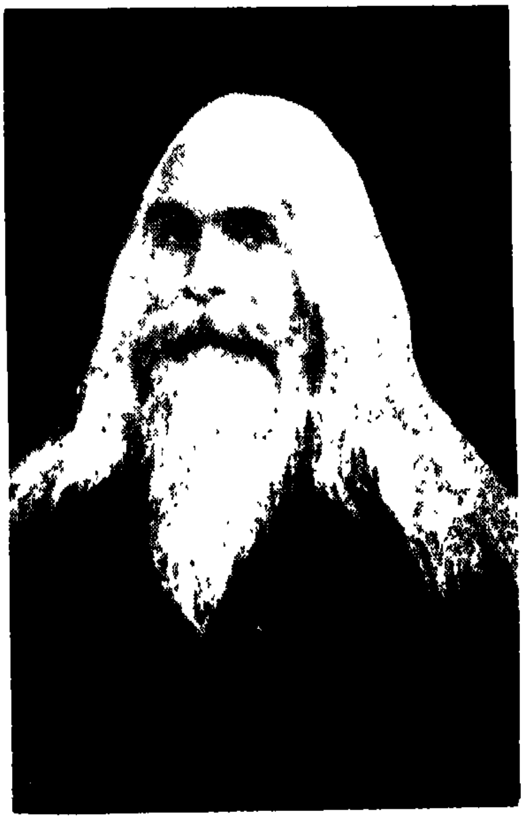


Kishan Singh F/o Bhagat Singh

Swaran Singh b/o Ajit Singh

Bhagat Singh

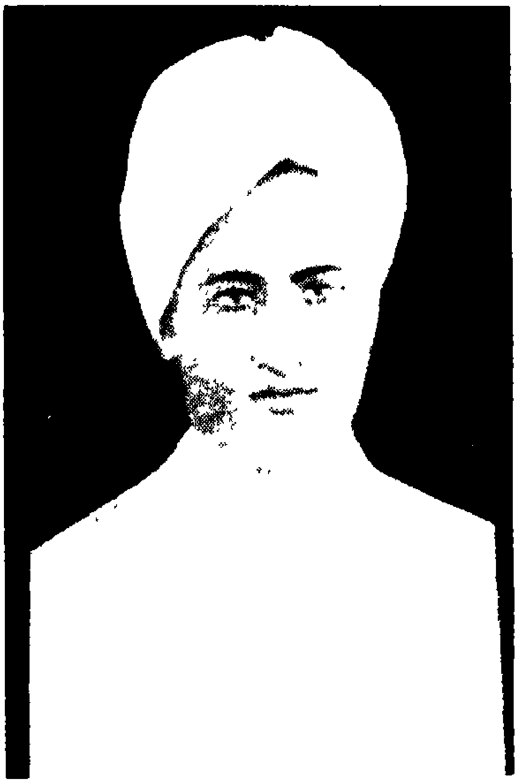
A Family of Arya Martyrs



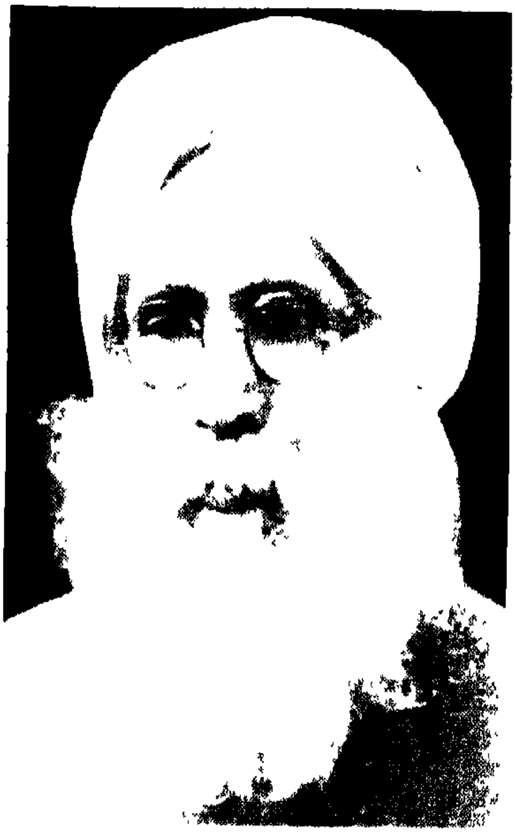
Kesari Singh Barhat

Pratap Singh Barhat Manik Kunwar W/o Kesari Sing

Another Family of Arya Martyrs



Bhai Parmanand



Lala Hans Raj

Lala Hardayal

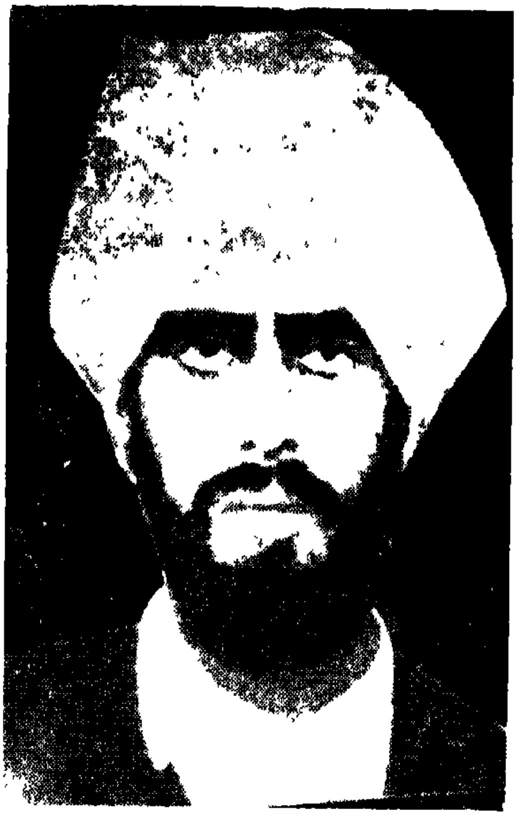
Lala Pindi Das

Master Amir Chand

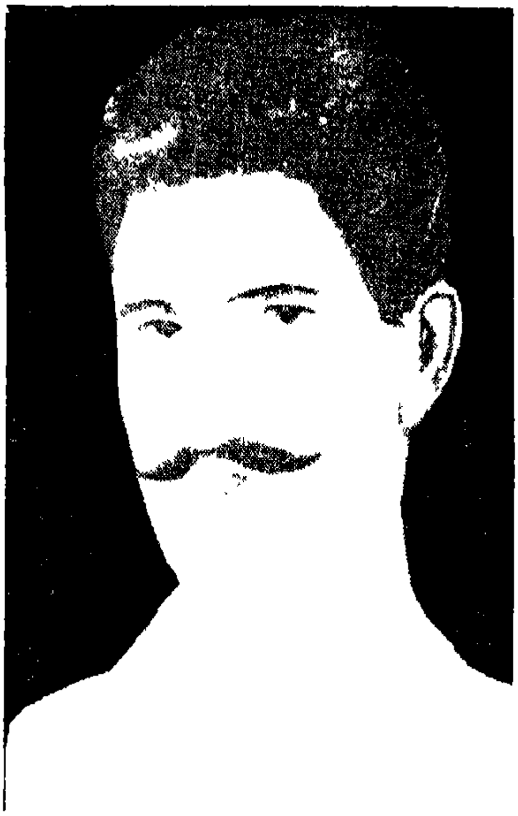
Bhai Balmukand

Avadh Behari

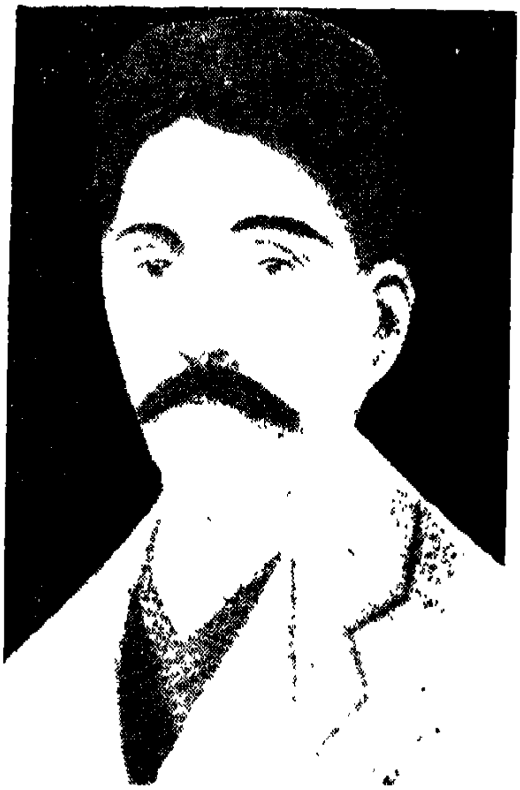
Delhi Conspiracy Case Martyrs



Gendalal Dixit



Sohanlal Pathak



Kashi Ram Joshi

Kedar Nath Sehgal

The story is not yet complete, however. When the news of Bal Mukand's execution reached his home, Ram Rakhi, the devoted wife of Bal Mukand in spite of all persuasions to the contrary, stopped taking food and drink and in the course of a few days she followed her husband with "a cheerful mien with the blessings of all who gathered around her during the last few days of her mortal existence. Blessed be her name."

BALWANT SINGH, PANDIT

Balwant Singh,[5] son of Ram Gopal Singh, alias Palli Brahmana, was born in 1886 at Salwan, a village in the police station Asandh, in Karnal district. After having finished his early education at his village school, he joined the Arya Gurukula at Badaun, U.P., where he learnt Sanskrit. He then worked as a teacher for three years in the Arya Mahavidyalaya at Jwalapur, Hardwar. He was a powerful orator who infused patriotic fervour not only in the hearts of his young students but of the general masses also.

Description : Medium height and build, sallow complexion, sometimes wears a short beard, but generally shaves.

BANKE DAYAL

Banke Dayal[6] (alias Prabh Dayal), son of Maya Das, a Chopra Khatri, was born in 1880 at Chahal, a small village, in Kila Didar Singh police station, Gujranwala district. His father was a Police Officer and it was in the fitness of things that the chip of the old block also joined the police service after finishing his early education. His services were, however, dispensed with for his nationalist views. He took a great interest and a somewhat active part in the agitation at Lahore and Lyallpur in 1907. His famous song *Pagri Sambhal Jatta, Pagri Sambhal Oye* ! stirred the Punjab masses.

He edited *Jhang Sial*, a nationalist paper and wrote fearlessly on subjects of national interest. He was a staunch Arya Samajist. In 1908 he was imprisoned for a year for defaming U.T. Wakefield, a European contractor, who was the son of a former Deputy Commissioner of the Jhang District, and Lala Atma Ram, an Indian Honorary Magistrate. In 1912, the paper

and press were transferred to Lahore on giving security for Rs. 2,000. The security was, however, forfeited in 1913 on the publication of two 'objectionable articles on the Delhi bomb outrage.'

After some time, Banke Dayal revived the *Jhang Sial* under the title of the *Virat*. He also took part in active politics and continued to launch attack on the government all through the period under study.

Description : Height about 5 feet 6 inches, strong build; wheatish complexion; no beard; small moustache; large prominent eyes; thin nose; white regular teeth; oval face; a boil mark just below the right ear, and another on the right side of the head; walks slowly and usually carries a stout *lathi*.

BARHAT, THAKUR KESARI SINGH

Kesari Singh[7] was born on 21 November 1872 at Devpura, a small village near Shahpura in Udaipur state (Rajasthan) in a patriotic Charan family. His father, Thakur Kishan Singh a follower of Swami Dayananda was one of the chief counsellors of the ruler of Udaipur. He was a suspect in the eyes of the British Government.

Kesari Singh received very intense formal education in Sanskrit and ancient Indian philosophy, scriptures and tradition first at home and then at Benaras. He was a poet who wrote inspiring verses in Rajasthani.

After his father's death, he was employed by the ruler of Udaipur as his counsellor. He did not like the darbar atmosphere and therefore shifted to Kota on the invitation of the ruler of that state on the same assignment.

The wretched condition that India was reduced to by the British Government and their feudal lackeys pained Kesari Singh a great deal and he took upon himself the duty of preparing ground for doing away with the Raj. He formed a revolutionary organisation called *Vira Bharat Sabha* in association with Thakur Gopal Singh of Kharwa for this purpose. He established contacts with revolutionaries like Rash Behari Bose etc. He also set up a branch of the Abhinava Bharat in Rajasthan.

The Government came to know of his activities in 1914. In the words of political secretary to the government of India (1914) :

> It appears that there has been existing for some years in Rajputana without the knowledge of the Durbar or of the Political Officers a secret political organisation directed originally against the Chiefs of Rajputana but subsequently against the British Government. . . . There is, further, some reason to believe that efforts were made by Kesari Singh, fortunately with little result, to tamper with the loyalty of the Rajput troops.

Kesari Singh tried to spread disaffection among not only ordinary people and troops but also among the rulers of the Rajput states. In 1903, for instance, he exhorted Fateh Singh, the Maharana of Udaipur, not to attend the *Delhi Darbar* organized by Lord Curzon on 1 February 1903 to commemorate the coronation of Edward VII. That, he said, would be in utter contravention of the noble traditions of his forefathers who never went to *Delhi Darbar*. The Maharana was influenced by his soul-stirring message and he came back from Delhi without attending the *Dabar*.

Kesari Singh's work could not move smoothly for want of funds. He, therefore, committed the murder of a wealthy, corrupt Mahant, Pyare Ram (1914). For this, he was arrested, tried, and awarded life imprisonment. An excerpt from the judgement (11 December 1914) :

> Barhat Kesari Singh, who has served in the Kotah State for a long time, is a man of learning and possesses intelligence above the average. His ideas towards the Government of India were as disaffected and antagonistic as those of the seditious and anarchical societies of Bengal. He was desirous of disseminating similar views in Rajputana and his efforts resulted in establishing a Rajput Boarding House at Kotah, and a Rajput Charan Boarding House at Jodhpur. It has been admitted . . . that Kesari Singh's intention in acquiring the wealth of Pyare Ram was to apply it to the *Desh Unnati* and Education . . . .

To put him out of reach, Kesari Singh was locked in Hazari Bagh Jail in Bihar where he remained until 1919 when he was released after the British success in WWI. The Kotah chief asked the government to revise their decision. Mr. Craik, Home Secretary, Government of India, accepting the mistake, wrote to the ruler thus (23 September 1919) : " . . . It is most undesirable that this dangerous criminal should now be at large. *Prima facie* it would appear that his release was irregular, and due to the negligence of the Government of India's agents, and there would not seem to be anything illegal in rearresting him to serve the reminder of his sentence. . . ." He was not rearrested, however, and allowed to settle down in Kota State where he continued to serve his people until his death, 14 August 1941.

BARHAT, PRATAP SINGH

Pratap Singh[8] was born on 25 May 1893 in Kotah at Shahpur, where his father was a member of the Council of the ruler of that place. He received his school education in the DAV High School, Ajmer. He was like his father, a staunch Arya Samajist. He had a revolutionary bent of mind and joined this organisation under the captaincy of Rash Behari Bose. His father Kesari Singh encouraged him 'to sacrifice all that he had for the freedom of the motherland.' He took part in throwing of a bomb on Lord Hardinge at Delhi on 23 December 1912.

He was apprehended but no adequate evidence could be produced to punish him. He was again arrested for his complicity in the so called Benaras Conspiracy There was a farce of a trial and Pratap was given 5 years' R.I. on 14 February 1916. He was tortured to get details about his accomplices. The twenty-two-year old Charan lad underwent almost intolerable suffering in Bareilly jail like a true stoic of the Bhagavadgita and did not divulge anything. His tender love was also touched : His mother's weeping and suffering was portrayed in a very touching manner to break him. But the brave Pratap reacted manfully and said : "You say that my mother is weeping day and night and is very disconsolate over my fate. But I refuse to be the cause of weeping for any other mother and if ever it so happens, that would be death to me and disgrace to

my mother." This enraged the authorities. As a result more torture came and with that came his death on 7 May 1915 in the prime of his youth—he was 22, Says Dr. R.C. Majumdar about him :

> By the year 1911 a number of youngmen joined the revolutionary organisation and some of them were sent to Delhi for training under Amir Chand, Avadh Bihari and Bal Mukand. The most famous among these young workers was Pratap Singh, son of Barhat Kesari Singh, who played an important part in the various conspiracies organized by Rash Behari Bose. He died a martyr's death and showed unflinching courage and exemplary endurance.

BARHAT, ZORAWAR SINGH

Zorawar Singh,[9] brother of great freedom fighter and revolutionary Kesari Singh Barhat and uncle of great Pratap Singh Barhat was born at Khaira, a small hamlet near Shahpura (Rajasthan) in 1875. After receiving good education, he took to revolutionary work under the influence of his elder brother, Kesari Singh Barhat. He joined Master Amir Chand, the leader of the revolutionaries in and around Delhi and worked for the famous revolutionary leader Rash Behari Bose's plan of murdering the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, on the occasion of his first state entry into the new capital (Delhi) on 23 December 1912. The Viceroy was seriously wounded; and the police made frantic efforts to get the culprits. A reward of Rs. one lakh was announced for any one giving any clue. Finally in 1914, 'the chief culprits'—Amir Chand, Avadh Bihari etc. were arrested. Despite best efforts on the part of the police—he went underground. Zorawar Singh could not be apprehended.

After the bomb outrage, he took part in the so-called Arrah conspiracy. But there, too, he was not apprehended, as he left the place soon after 'his work was done'. He again went underground in the ravines of central India and remained 'untraced' till his death in 1939.

BHAGAT RAM

Bhagat Ram,[10] son of Shiv Ram, a Brahmana of Miani in Police Station Tanda, district Hoshiarpur, was born in 1882. He was educated at the Arya High School, Hoshiarpur. After passing matriculation examination, he obtained an appointment in the Railway Department in 1904. But he was discharged for some departmental offence after five and a half years' service. Subsequently he returned to Miani and opened a shop. Besides doing Samaj work, he took to political propaganda of the Congress. In May 1915 he openly incited the people of Miani to refrain from paying municipal taxes and prophesied that 'British rule would shortly come to an end.' He was prosecuted and 'wrongly convicted under Section 110 (f) Criminal Procedure Code.' On appeal, therefore, to the Chief Court, he was let off. Action was taken again by the Local Government under section 25 (1) (a) of the Defence Rules and he was convicted in December 1916 to two years' imprisonment (1916-18).

Description: Wheatish complexion; stout build; medium height; round face; forehead slightly pockpitted; can speak English fluently.

BHAGAT RAM, RAIZADA

Bhagat Ram,[11] son of Salig Ram, a Sondhi Khatri, of Kot Kishan Chand, Jullundur, was born in 1872. His was a family of Arya Samajists. He was educated up to the Middle standard at the local Mission School and then went to England where he was called to the Bar. One of his sisters was married to Mahatma Munshi Ram and a brother, Hans Raj, barrister of Jullundur was a well known Swarajist. One of his sons, Kanad Dev Sondhi, was a famous nationalist who was later rusticated from the Law College Lahore (1919).

Bhagat Ram was a very prominent lawyer and 'one of the most influential men in the Jullundur district.' He took active part in the political unrest of 1907. At the time of the riots in Rawalpindi, he roused considerable excitement at Jullundur by his thoughtful activities.

Description: Height about 5 feet 7 inches; heavy build;

sallow complexion; round face; no beard; grey moustache; dresses in European style, but wears a turban.

BHALLA, BAL RAJ

Bal Raj,[12] son of the great educationist and social reformer Lala Hans Raj was born on 10 June 1888 at Wazirabad in district Gujranwala (Punjab). After his schooling at Wazirabad, he joined the D.A.V. College, Lahore, from where he passed his M.A. in 1911. Influenced by the ideas of Swami Dayananda, Dadabhai Naoroji, R.C. Dutt and Tilak and the examples of the supreme sacrifices of the revolutionaries like Khudiram Bose, he joined the revolutionary movement in 1905. He followed Ajit Singh for some time but after the latter left India, he made contacts with Master Amir Chand and other revolutionaries. He took part in the grand feat of throwing a bomb on the Viceroy Lord Hardinge in Delhi on 23 December 1912. He was arrested for this as also for throwing a bomb in the Lawrence garden, Lahore on 17 May 1913 which killed a peon. The farce of a trial went on for several months. He was ultimately awarded transportation to the Andamans on 29 April 1915.

BHANJU RAM

Bhanju Ram,[13] son of Tulsi Das, a Khatri of Dera Ismail Khan, was born in 1887. His was a family of staunch Arya Samajists. He started as a teacher in the Dera Ismail Khan Bharatri High School an Arya Samaj institution, which, according to an intelligence report, 'was a centre of sedition.' In 1909, he took a leading part in the activities of a party formed at Dera Ismail Khan to collect subscriptions for the defence of the Arya Samajists implicated in the Patiala sedition case. From July 1910 to August 1911, he was the nominal editor of the *Punjab Advocate* at Mianwali, 'which had an extreme anti-government tone.' The paper proved a financial failure, and Bhanju Ram resigned the editorship and returned to Dera Ismail Khan.

In September 1912, he joined the Dayal Singh College, Lahore, as a student, and in May 1914, he passed the B.A. examination and subsequently went to Aligarh with the intention of studying for M.A. but was refused admission to the

College. He accordingly returned to Lahore, where he entered the Law College and passed the LL.B. examination in May 1916. He took great interest in political work all through these years—1907 to 1918.

Description: Height about 5 feet 7 inches; strong build; dark complexion; black beard and moustache.

BISHAN DATT, PANDIT

Bishan Datt[14] of Mirzapur was a prominent *swadeshi* propagandist of U.P. He was closely associated with the Arya Samaj since 1902. He "spoke at a meeting in Bombay in 1907 on the same platform with Lajpat Rai and Munshi Ram."

He was chosen by the Arya Samaj in 1908 for the defence of Daulat Ram, about whom we have already said much in section 1. He published a book containing interesting songs on the *swadeshi*, boycott and the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai (1907). He also published poems on the poverty of India (1908). He has shown, says an intelligence report from U.P. of 1910, "during the last three or four years exceptional activity as a *swadeshi* lecturer and as such attracted considerable notice."

He joined the congress as an activist and worked for the union of its two factions, the so-called moderates and extremists after 1907.

CHHABIL DAS

Chhabil Das,[15] son of Kesar Das, an Arora, was born in 1890 at Isakehl in Mianwali district. He studied up to the primary class at his village school and matriculated from the Government High School Mianwali. He graduated from Dyal Singh College, Lahore, and then studied for a year in the M.A. classes of the Government College, Lahore. He came into touch with Lajpat Rai through his Arya Samajist relatives. He became a staunch Arya Samajist. He worked hard during the Punjab disturbances of 1907. Later he joined the leftists.

Description: Height 5 feet 5 inches; thin build; fair complexion; oval face; small eyes; closely cropped hair.

CHANDER BHAN

Chander Bhan,[16] son of Mul Chand, Arora, was born in 1877 at Duniapur, a small village, in Alpa police station, Multan district. He was a medical practitioner and kept a medicine shop in Ludhiana city. He was a staunch Arya Samajist and had a considerable influence among local Aryas. He took a prominent part in organising the *Swadeshi* movement and political agitation in 1905-07. He was a first rate orator and a good organizer.

Description : Height about 5 feet 5 inches; medium build; round face; wheatish complexion; small grey beard and heavy moustache; generally wears ordinary Indian trousers, a coat and a felt cap.

CHANDU LAL

Chandu Lal was born in 1846 in a highly respectable Aggarwal (Vaishya) family of Hissar. He was not formally educated, but had acquired some knowledge of Hindi, Urdu and Sanskrit. He was an Arya Samajist: he worked hard for the spread of educacation, eradication of untouchability and upliftment of the women folk, as per the teachings of Swami Dayananda. He was president of the local Samaj for a pretty long time. Influenced by Lala Lajpat Rai, he began to take interest in nationalist politics in 1880s.

> "He was," in the words of Lala Lajpat Rai, "an embodiment of manliness and courage. He made other people's difficulties his own. I cannot recollect a single occasion when a man in trouble sought his help in vain. He was a friend and counsellor of everybody in his town and in the district." "It is my belief" he continued, "that had he received a better education, Lala Chandu Lal would have ranked amongst the celebrated leaders of the land. As it is, he was the most respected and the most forceful leader of his own region (Haryana)."

Once the Deputy Commissioner of Hissar had some dispute with him, and 'this led to a hartal in the entire town.' The

Commissioner, who came for an enquiry, said to him: "You are the *Raja* of the district." Though made tauntingly, the remark 'undoubtedly testified to Lala Chandu Lal's great influence and popularity.'

The governmental pressure on him, especially after 1907, to leave politics and friends did not work. The district officials were annoyed with him, in particular, for his soft corner towards Lajpat Rai. "But he never disowned me," said Rai. "For two years all my papers were in his custody He always said to the officials: "I am a friend of Lajpat Rai, and believe in his innocence. At a time when innumerable other friends had given me up, he stood by me. After my return from deportation I stayed with him several times. Even when I was a prisoner at Mandalay, we were exchanging letters. Those were the days when some very dear friends avoided, and even forsook me. The moneyed, the *reis*, the officials, the titled, dreaded not only my touch but my proximity. But Lala Chandu Lal carried on all the obligations of friendship openly and manfully."

In Haryana in general and in Hissar in particular, 'the Arya Samaj owed much for its progress to his strength of character, his sagacity, his generosity.' He brought political awakening to and created national awareness in the masses around him. Lajpat Rai is right in saying that "in the temple that the future generations will raise to honour those great men who were their saviours during the 19th and 20th centuries . . . , whose character and sacrifices not only safeguarded the great legacy bequeathed by the ancient great, but added to it; whose hearts were an altar dedicated to the nation and the motherland—in that holy edifice Lala Chandu Lal will deserve a place of honour."[17] He died in 1909.

CHAUDHARANI, SARLA DEVI

Sarla Devi[18] Chaudharani was born in 1876 to Mr. Ghosal of Calcutta, a nationalist leader, who was connected with the Tagore family. She was a highly educated and gifted lady. She married in 1905 Ch. Rambhaj Datt, a great Arya leader of Amritsar. Both before and since her marriage she had taken a very keen interest in everything affecting Indian national life. The intelligence reports connect her with the Bengal extremists.

In Punjab, however, she was not a militant. She propagated *swadeshi* and worked for such positively constructive programmes as Harijan upliftment, spread of education etc. In 1907, however, we find a change in her : She 'was active in spreading ill-feeling regarding Lajpat Rai's deportation amongst Hindu women.' In 1908, she established the "Society of Practical Nationalism," and during the absence of her husband in England, took an active interest in the management of the nationalist paper *Hindustan*. All said and done, she was a forceful political activist during the period under study.

Description : Medium height; stout; fair complexion; oval face; large eyes; wears a sari of Swadeshi cloth like a *Parsi* lady.

CHURAMANI

Churamani,[19] son of Saudagar Mal, an Agarwal Bania of Ludhiana, was born in 1862. He was educated at Lahore; became a pleader; and settled at Hissar (Haryana). A police report has this to say about him. "A most astute and able man, he is one of the most influential Arya Samajists in Northern India. He is thought much of by the sect, although he remains in the background." A close associate of Lajpat Rai, he was an ardent advocate of *swadeshi*.

Description : Height 5 feet 5 inches; strongly built; sallow complexion; round face; pock marked; mark on the right cheek; blue eye; screws up his eyes when talking; appears near-sighted, grey beard and moustaches.

DATT, RAMBHAJ

Rambhaj Datt,[20] son of Radha Kishan Chaudhri, a Mohyal Brahman of Kanjrur Dattan, Police Station Shahgharib, district Gurdaspur, was born in 1866. He had his higher education at the Forman Christian College, Lahore. First he practised as a 2nd grade pleader at Tarantaran for a short time, but in July 1900 was enrolled as 1st class pleader. He had a fairly extensive practice at Lahore. He married the well-known activist Sarla Devi, with whose movements and aspirations he was in active sympathy.

A 'zealous and bigoted Arya,' Rambhaj had worked as secretary and president of the local Samaj, and was a member of the Arya Association. He became interested in nationalist politics in 1880s when he was drawn to the Indian National Congress. He attended almost all the Congress sessions after 1888. He was a great orator and a powerful writer. In 1907 he purchased the *Hindustan* from Dina Nath and Ishri Parshad. The tone of the paper 'was hostile to Government.' In 1908, he paid a short visit to England. He was out-spoken in his speeches and writings. He took a very keen interest in the Punjab disturbances, 1907 and along with Lajpat and Ajit, he set the countryside aflame. He continued his work after 1907, too, but his finest hour came in 1919, the story of which will be related in Vol. II.

Description : Fair complexion; medium height; strongly built; black moustache; shaves his beard; shaves the front portion of his head after the Hindu custom; dresses in European style, but wears a white turban.

DATTATRIYA, PANDIT

Dattatriya[21] was a Maratha Brahmana of Poona. His 'real name, parentage and original residence have never been ascertained in spite of exhaustive enquiries,' says an intelligence report, 'but it appeared that after taking the B.A. degree at the Ferguson College, Poona, he became a *sadhu* and wandered about visiting Hindu shrines and places of pilgrimage.' In 1918, when at Hardwar he is reported to have come under the influence of Pandit Satvalekar, of Gurukula Kangri who induced him to relinquish the garb of a *sadhu* and take up the national service. And that he did with great enthusiasm.

Description: Height about 5 feet 4 inches; strong build; wheatish complexion; long nose; large eyes; curly hair; wears glasses; talks very quickly; dresses in Khaddar and usually wears a black cap.

DAULAT RAM

Daulat Ram,[22] son of Tulsi Ram, alias Tulsi Bhagat of

Jullundur was born in 1890. He passed his F.Sc. examination from the D.A.V. College about 1912 where he not only became an Arya Samajist but also took to politics. As a result, his father who was a police inspector, removed him from there and sent him to the Government College from where he graduated. While in the Government College Boarding House, he was given the nickname 'Malikholia' on account of his 'jaundiced and anti-British conversation.' His extremist ideas were picked up mainly from Balraj, son of Lala Hans Raj of the D.A.V. College, who was convicted in the Delhi Bomb case. Says a contemporary intelligence report about him: "He is a very hot-tempered man of extreme anti-British views and has a rooted objection to taking up Government service. In the course of conversation he discusses politics freely and fearlessly and openly airs seditious views. Given the least opportunity he would undoubtedly have given trouble. His movements should be carefully watched."

Description: Wheatish complexion; well built; medium figure; powerful physique; height about 5 feet 7 inches; sturdy appearance; round symmetrical face; dresses in English fashion and generally wears a white Christy Hindu cap and ankle boots.

DEVI CHAND

Devi Chand,[23] son of Prabh Dial, a Khatri of Bahrampur, Police Station Dinanagar, district Gurdaspur was born in 1872. He was educated at the D.A.V. College, Lahore wherefrom he did his B.A. and 'bound himself to serve the Arya Samaj for the life on a stipend of Rs.75 per mensem.' He served as a private secretary to Sir Partap Singh of Idar for a short time and was then transferred to Hoshiarpur as Head Master of the Arya High School there. He was, says an intelligence report, 'a bigoted Arya, and does his best to inculcate in his scholars as well as his co-religionists feelings of hatred towards the British.' He was, for quite some time, the head of the Arya Samaj in Hoshiarpur. Besides that, he constantly visited other Samaj centres in the district. His 'public speeches were, however, made in very careful language.'

Description: Wheatish complexion; thin nose; wears a long moustache and beard; medium height; well built.

DHANI RAM

Dhani Ram,[24] son of Munshi Ram, a Khatri of Ludhiana was born in 1882. He took his degree at the Forman Christian College, Lahore and then worked as a teacher in various schools. After passing the LL.B examination at the Lahore Law College, he started practice at Ludhiana where he permanently settled. He was married to one of the daughters of Swami Shraddhananda. He took part in all the current political movements—he was particularly active during the 1907 agitation.

Description: Height about 5 feet 9 inches; medium build; wheatish complexion; long face; both ear-lobes bored; a boil mark on the right cheek; small eyes; no beard; small moustache; generally wears ordinary pyjamas, a coat and a felt cap.

DHANPAT RAI

Dhanpat Rai,[25] son of Ram Chand, a Khatri of Kasur, district Lahore, was born in 1857. After his formal education, he was admitted as a Pleader in 1899 and shortly afterwards came into prominence as an active preacher of the Arya Samaj. In character, says an intelligence report, 'he is very violent.' He took active part in the Punjab agitation of 1907.

Having no issue of his own, he adopted a girl, whose abduction case he had fought. He married this girl to Ajit Singh, the famous revolutionary, the then Superintendent of the Arya Samaj Orphanage. This brought him into close connection with the extremists of Lahore.

His family was also on terms of close intimacy with Lajpat Rai. His house at Kasur was a regular meeting place for political activists. In the sedition of 1909, says the above-mentioned intelligence report, he was 'one of the most dangerous figures.' After 1910 he identified himself with the rapprochement between Hindus and Muhammadans.

Description: Strongly built and about 6 feet in height; wheatish complexion; face pock marked; generally dresses after the old Derawal style in large round white pagri, a chogha, ordinary native shaped trousers and native shoes. Educated in the vernacular.

DHARMA BHIKSHU

Dharma Bhikshu[26] (alias Ishwar Dayal) son of Din Dayal, a Kayastha of Mashakganj, Lucknow, was born in 1877. He was educated up to the middle standard, but subsequently managed to acquire some knowledge of Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Urdu and Hindi. Later he joined the Lucknow Arts and Crafts School in 1914, but he came under the influence of Arya Samaj and left the school at the end of the following year. In 1916, he preached on the *Vedas* at Lucknow and other places in the United Provinces. In 1917, he worked for a short time as a clerk in the Congress office. Later, started the Auditya Press and weekly Urdu paper entitled the "*Khanjar*". He had a powerful tongue and equally powerful pen and made a lot of anti-British propaganda through his paper and platform exhorting people to rise to the occasion and gain *swaraj*.

Description: Short and thin; dark complexion; a scar below the chin.

DINA NATH

Dina Nath,[27] son of Amlok Ram, a Passi of Hafizabad, Gujranwala district, was born in 1880. He passed the matriculation examination from the Gujranwala School. After finishing his studies, he went to Lahore and obtained employment in various factories and on the staffs of several newspapers, eventually becoming sub-editor of the *Paisa Akhbar*. He came under the influence of the Arya Samaj and became associated with the Lahore Samaj. He 'directed his undoubted ability towards nationalist ideals.'

Among other activities, he translated several of Shakespeare's plays in novel form, introducing patriotic ideas applicable to India. In 1904, he left the *Paisa Akhbar* and started a paper of his own, the *Hindustan*, in which he 'gave his advanced political tendencies full play and so secured a large circulation.' The *India*, the paper of Pindi Das, was printed at the same press, and Dina Nath was prosecuted with Pindi Das for a seditious article which appeared in that paper in 1907, and was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment. He sold his press

and on his release from jail, purchased an oil press and some shops at Hafizabad with the proceeds, together with subscriptions raised on his behalf.

He lived at Hafizabad for some time, but returned to Lahore in 1909, to resume the editorship of the *Hindustan*, with which paper he kept up an intermittent connection until the beginning of 1913. Owing to differences with its proprietress, Sarla Devi, he started a new daily 'paper the *Desh* and resurrected the *Himala*, a weekly paper. The *Desh* 'maintained a covertly seditious and anti British attitude.' In 1916, Dina Nath also became editor of the *Public*, another nationalist daily, and wrote powerful articles. He later turned towards the left but kept his usual programme of national awakening alive.

Description: Height about 5 feet 8 inches; stout build; sallow complexion; weak eyes; wears glasses; generally wears a turban.

DINA NATH, DR.

Dina Nath,[28] son of Harsukh Rai Chopra, a retired sub-inspector of police at Hafizabad, Gujranwala district was born in 1882. He was at one time an Assistant Surgeon in government employ, but resigned 'on being badly reported on' for his Arya Samajist leanings and advanced nationalist views and activities. He took keen interest in the 1907 agitation as a close associate of Ajit Singh and his party. He attended a number of political meetings, but found the publication of pamphlets a more congenial means of expressing his hostility to government than public speaking. He 'was warned in 1910, and was only saved from prosecution for seditious writings by a legal technicality.' In the following year the *Iqbal-i-Hind Press* of Lyallpur was ordered to deposit security for Rs. 1,000/- for having published certain effusions from his pen, chief of which was the leaflet *Heartache* which dealt with Government's anti-plague measures. In 1914, he took part in the Rikabganj Gurudwara agitation led by Harchand Singh. He also took a leading part in political activity even hereafter. Says an intelligence report about him: 'He is a keen Arya Samajist and takes an interest in the district Congress Committee.'

Description: Height about 5 feet 5 inches; spare build; sallow complexion; walks slowly with head bent; knows English.

DINA NATH, PANDIT

Dina Nath,[29] son of Nanak Chand, a Brahman of Kanjrur, Gurdaspur district, was born in 1877. After his formal education, he joined as a paid lecturer of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Lahore, in 1909 when he travelled a good deal throughout the Province, lecturing on subjects like *swadeshi* and *swaraj*. He started a newspaper called the *Philosopher* early in 1914 and subsequently, together with Sufi Lachman Pershad, Ganga Ram, Lal Chand Falak, and Kedar Nath Sehgal, started the *Bijli* and published patriotic material which stirred the Punjabis. He took active interest in revolutionary politics and learnt and preached as to how to make bombs. This 'he learnt while in Bengal in 1907 as *a faqir*, or from Mul Chand of Amritsar who was supposed to know how to make them.' In 1914, he left the country for the Far East. He returned after three years and settled in Lahore. He lectured on behalf of the 'Parkash party' and took a leading part in the work of the Arya Samaj. He was a great admirer of Lala Lajpat Rai.

Description: Wheatish complexion; height about 5 feet 8 inches; thin build; clean shaven; wears spectacles; occasionally wears a dhoti and resembles a Bengali; speaks English and is said to know Japanese and Chinese.

DIWAN CHAND

Diwan Chand,[30] son of Ram Dhan Khanna of Lahore, was born in 1872. He was an Arya activist and entered national politics through the corridors of the Samaj. He took very keen interest in the agitation of 1907. He took to the politics and programme of the Hindu Mahasabha in later years.

Description (*1918*): Height about 5 feet 5 inches; stout build; sallow complexion; no beard; small grey moustaches; large face; thick neck; generally wears ordinary Indian pyjamas, an English cut coat and a Bangalore cap.

DIXIT, GENDA LAL

Genda Lal[31] was born in 1889 in a Brahmana family at Mai, a small village in district Etawah (U.P.). After finishing his education he became a teacher in a D.A.V. School at Amiya (Etawah). There he read the works of Swami Dayananda Saraswati and 'took to nationalist politics of the extreme type.' After some time he left service and spent all his time in organizing a revolutionary party in U.P. In 1917 one Lachhmanand Brahmachari joined him in the 'sacred cause.'

On 29 November (1917) Genda Lal formed a society called *Matrivedi Sanstha* at Allahabad which had four sections dealing with (i) Secret Service; (ii) Enlistment in the Army and learning the use of arms; (iii) Collection of money; and (iv) propagation of the objective of the Society through literature. He recruited a large number of persons to the ranks of the society and collected arms. After some time he felt that the staff around him was not of 'daring men who would be prepared for any contingency.' As luck would have it, however, about this time, he met one Panchama Singh, a leader of 'a big band of desperadoes who had courage, men and arms.' They planned to work together and soon selected men who were capable of quick action over distant areas.

With the help of the new men, dacoities were committed at Mainpuri, Etawah, Auriya, Sandhakhera, Para, etc. to collect money for the struggle. The party 'became bolder with each adventure.'

The Government, too, realised the gravity of the situation created by Genda Lal. On January 31, 1918, a large number of Genda Lal's party men had assembled in a jungle in Bhind, (Gwalior). A traitor gave information of this and soon they were surrounded by a big force of armed police. On knowing this Genda Lal took the offensive. There was a heavy exchange of shots resulting in serious casualties on both sides; Genda Lal lost eight men through death and about twenty-five others suffered serious injuries. Lachhmanand too, was injured.

When their ammunition got exhausted, Genda Lal was arrested along with his men. In jail, Genda Lal assumed an air of surrendering to the authorities and expressed his eagerness

to help the Government in the impending trial against the accused. Thus he was able to allay all suspicion in the minds of the guards and because of his more frequent meetings with high Government officers, who came to him for information, he was allowed to move rather freely than was usual in case of undertrials. With advantage thus secured Genda Lal made good his escape from the jail never to be arrested alive.

The Mainpuri conspiracy case which was started on February 13, 1919, under Sections 121-A, 120-B etc. I.P.C., against twenty-seven persons was not dropped even after the chief culprit had escaped. The trial went on. Ultimately, Genda Lal was found guilty under section 121-A, 120-B, etc. I.P.C. on 27 July 1919.

The police did their very best to apprehend Genda Lal. But they did not succeed. In 1920, however, he was taken in grip by a deadly disease, T.B. His brother took him to the Irwin Hospital, Delhi and got him admitted there with great difficulty. There he breathed his last at 2 p.m. on December 27, 1920.[46]

DUNI CHAND (AMBALAVI)

Duni Chand,[32] son of Tailu Ram Sud, of Manakpur in Patiala state, was born in 1873. After receiving his education at the village school and Patiala, he graduated from the Forman Christian College, Lahore and passed the L.L. examination from the Law College, Lahore. He started his legal practice at Ropar, but subsequently moved to Ambala, where he was permanently established. According to an intelligence report: "He is the prime mover in all political matters at Ambala and is the recognised leader of the Ambala Arya Samaj."

He was deeply influenced by Lala Lajpat Rai. He took part in the agitation of 1907 and raised voice against the deportation of his 'guru' (Lajpat Rai) and Ajit Singh. As time passed, his passion for politics increased a great deal—so much so that in 1919 he was a full-time politician. But that story is told in vol. II.

Description: Height about 5 feet 7 inches; slim build; wheat-ish complexion; oval face; small eyes; stammers slightly; wears spectacles when reading.

FALAK, LAL CHAND

Lal Chand Falak,[33] son of Diwan Chand, a Khatri of Kucha Kotli Kapuran, Lahore, was born in 1876. He was educated up to the middle standard in the Lahore D.A.V. School. He became an adherent of the extremist party and took a very active part in the Bharat Mata agitation of 1907. He was convicted in the Lahore riot case but was acquitted on appeal. He then 'took to seditious journalism and set up as a nationalist poet.' He published Lajpat Rai's speeches and articles against government service written by Har Dayal, and was associated with the production of such papers as the *Peshwa, Hitkari* and *Sahayak*. He became a supporter of the Ajit Singh-Amba Parshad party and was one of those principally concerned in flooding the Punjab with seditious literature during 1909. He was prosecuted in this connection and sentenced to 4/½ years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500. On appeal, however, the sentence was reduced to eight months' imprisonment and a nominal fine.

On release, he again adopted journalism as 'a means of livelihood.' In 1913 his house was searched in connection with the Lahore bomb case and 'a seditious poster was discovered, but he could not be prosecuted. In 1917 he was again found 'to be involved in sedition.' He was prosecuted in the Lahore City Conspiracy case and sentenced to transportation for life. The sentence was afterwards reduced to one of 10 years' rigorous imprisonment. The sentence was remitted under the Royal Amnesty in 1920.

Description: Height about 5 feet 5 inches; medium build; wheatish complexion; dark eyes; long face; sharp nose; large mouth; weak chin; no beard; small moustache.

GANGA RAM

Ganga Ram,[34] son of Shankar Das, a goldsmith of Goindke village in Daska police station, Sialkot district, was born in 1870. After finishing formal education, he practised as a pleader in Sialkot. He was on the executive committee of the *Arya Pratinidhi Sabha* and was the president of the local branch of the Arya Samaj. He took an active part in converting the

submerged classes and was particularly successful with the Meghs. He was a close friend of Chaudhri Ram Bhaj Datt of Lahore. He took prominent part in the so-called Punjab disturbances of 1907. He worked a great deal for arousing national consciousness among the masses.

Description: Height about 5 feet 6 inches; medium build; wheatish complexion; large eyes; broad nose; hair turning grey; no beard; walks with bent head; knows English well.

GIRDHARI LAL

Girdhari Lal,[35] son of Mulk Raj, an Ahluwalia of Terakana village, Hoshiarpur district, was born in 1887. After passing the matriculation examination at Lahore, he went to Amritsar, took up a job which he gave up soon. He was a staunch Arya Samajist. He joined the Congress and worked hard for the propagation of *swadeshi* and achieved some success too. According to an intelligence report: "He is a staunch Congressman of long standing."

Description: Medium height; stout; wheatish complexion; small eyes; wears glasses; generally dresses in European style, but wears a turban.

GIRDHARI LAL, DR.

Girdhari Lal,[36] son of Nathee Ram, a Brahmana of Hoshiarpur, was born in 1877. He worked as a Manager of the Hindu Orphanage, Sutar Mandi, Lahore, for somè time. He joined the revolutionary party and worked for it along with famons Basant Kumar, Bal Mukand and Bal Raj (son of Mahatma Hans Raj). His links with the party were known during the trials of the First Lahore Conspiracy Case. Says an intelligence report in this regard: "When his share of matter came to light his house was searched in Hoshiarpur, but only charred papers were found. He was produced as a witness for the prosecution in the Conspiracy trial, and made a true statement in the Lower Court; but in the Sessions Court he retracted it, and was fined by the Court for refusing to answer questions. He is believed to be an Arya with objectionable political views." He became a prominent Congress activist in the region.

Description: Fair complexion; round face; height about 5 feet 6 inches; medium build; long beard; big eyes; three small scars on right side of nose.

GOVIND GURU

Govind Guru[37] was born on 31 December 1858 at Bansaya, a small hamlet in the erstwhile state of Dungarpur in Rajasthan. He was a Banjara by caste. There was no school in his village—but so poor and wretched was the condition of Govind's parents that they could not have afforded to send him to any school. However, he had intense love for learning and, therefore, had it by sitting at the feet of a *pujari* of the village temple.

Govind possessed a sharp intellect and robust common sense. He was kind and gentle, and was moved by the wretched conditions of the people around him, especially the lot of the poor Bhils, Minas and other so-called 'criminal tribes' and resolved to improve it.

Govind became a disciple of Swami Dayananda when the latter visited Rajasthan in 1880-81 and remained with him during his tour of the state.

Inspired by Dayananda Saraswati, Govind came as a messiah to effect improvement in the situation. He formed an organisation called *Sanpa Sabha* in 1883 which stood for love, unity and fraternity.

His followers were styled as *bhaktas*.

The *sanpa sabha* and its ideals appealed to the Bhils, Minas etc. a great deal and hundreds of them joined its ranks first in the Sirohi belt and subsequently in the entire south-eastern region of Rajasthan.

Besides reforming the Bhils, Minas and other 'backward tribals' socio-religiously, Govind's movement also brought political awakening to them. They stopped bending their knees before the cruel and unjust rulers and officials. This was not liked by the *rajas* of Dungarpur, Benswadh, and Kushalgarh. It was a big challenge to their authority.

Govind was arrested and sent to the central jail at Ahmedabad where he remained for over two months. Nothing could be

found against him. A great deal of brain-wracking gave them a pretext. Some time ago a police official was killed by a *bhakta* (follower of Govind) in Suntharampur, a small state in Gujarat. The culprit was got hold of and he was 'made to say' that he was inspired to do that work by Govind Guru.

Govind was sent to Suntharampur, and tried for his complicity in the murder of the police official. The farcical trial concluded in the award of death penalty (by hanging) to Govind. On appeal, the extreme penalty was changed to 20 years' r.i. and finally to 10 years' rigorous imprisonment.

Govind was let out of jail in 1919 to mark the allied victory in WWI. A shattered man now and a chronic patient of asthma he looked like a 90 year old man. But Govind's cup of misery was not yet full. The government forbade his entry to the Dungarpur state. Although he built a hut and started living at Dahod, a small village near Jhalod, he could not drag on beyond a year: he died in 1920, uncared, and ungung, away from his dear Bhils, Minas and others.

GOWARDHAN DAS

Gowardhan Das,[38] son of Asa Nand, a Khatri of Multan, was born in 1882. He passed the matriculation examination from the Government High School, Multan, and graduated at D.A.V. College, Lahore. He then worked successively as a clerk at the Shahdara Spinning Mills, the Amritsar Bank and the Indian Association offices. He was employed in the office of Messrs. Harikishan Lal & Co., in 1907, when 'he took a prominent part in seditious propaganda and the meetings of the "Bharat Mata" society.'

He was implicated in the Lahore riots, 1907 and sentenced to 1½ years' rigorous imprisonment. But the sentence was reduced to six months on revision by the Chief Court. He was drawn towards the revolutionary movement by his friends. He associated with Ajit Singh, Sufi Amba Prashad and Kishan Singh, and it 'is perhaps a significant fact, or a curious coincidence, that he was present at Ahmedabad at the time of bomb outrage in 1909, and also at Calcutta during the King's visit in 1912.' He was an active Arya Samajist. He was a first rate orator and

an efficient writer. He contributed inspiring articles to the nationalist papers.

Description: Height about 5 feet 9 inches; fat; wheatish complexion; no beard; short moustache; big face; deep voice; generally wears ordinary pyjamas, a coat and a felt cap or a turban.

GUPTA, HIRA LAL

Hira Lal Gupta[39] of Roorkee was 'a zealous member of the Arya Samaj.' A 1910 C.I.D. report says about him: "He uses the opportunities that Arya Samaj meetings give him for referring to politics and advocating the *swadeshi* movement. He is the author of some objectionable pamphlets about foreign made sugar."

An ardent supporter of *Swadeshi* and *Swarajya*, Hira Lal 'took more interest in politics than religion' and brought political awakening in Uttar Pradesh, especially in district Saharanpur to which he belonged.

GURU DATT

Guru Datt,[40] son of Karam Chand, an Arora of Pipal Vehra, Lahore was born in 1897. He came under the influence of Arya Samaj very early in life and started taking part in political work as a student. He was a great admirer of Lala Rai Lajpat with whom he worked after passing M.Sc. in 1922.

Description: Medium height; strong build; fair complexion; clean shaven; large eyes; round face; flat nose; wears *khaddar* clothes.

HANS RAJ

Hans Raj,[41] son of Salig Ram, a Sondhi Khatri of Jullundur and the younger brother of Raizada Bhagat Ram, was born in 1872. He was a Bar-at-law from London. He practised at Jullundur.

He took an active part in the Punjab disturbances of 1907 but came 'into prominence in December 1918, when he attended the Delhi session of the Congress and subsequently began to

take an active part in extremist politics.' He was a prominent Arya Samajist in the Jullundur region.

Description: Height about 5 feet 6 inches; strong build; wheatish complexion; clean shaven; round face; dresses in European style, but wears a black felt cap.

HAR DAYAL

Har Dayal[42] was born on 14 October 1884 in Delhi. His father, Gauri Dayal Mathur, a reader in the District Courts at Delhi, was a scholar of Persian and Urdu. He was an Arya Samajist. He gave good education to his sapient boy at Delhi and Lahore. Har Dayal passed his M.A. examination in English literature from the latter place (Government College) standing first among successful candidates. Next year, he did M.A. in history and established a new record in the University. He was awarded a state scholarship by the Government of India which entitled him to a three years' course of post-graduate studies at Oxford in England.

He went to England and joined the Honours School of Modern History. While in England, he developed close associations with revolutionaries, like Shyamaji Krishnaverma, Bhai Parmanand, etc. He became a member of the *Abhinav Bharat*, a revolutionary association, of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. He contributed profusely to the *Indian Sociologist*.

The arrests of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh in 1907, moved Har Dayal a great deal and he resigned his state scholarship in England and returned to carry on political work at Lahore. On his way to the Punjab in January 1908, he halted at Poona where he met Tilak and Gokhale. Later, he adopted 'the life of a wandering monk,'—he began 'to dress simply, eat frugally and think deeply.' On the advice of Lala Lajpat Rai, he started a centre at Lahore for the training of young men. He contributed articles to the *Modern Review* and the *Punjabee* and 'openly associated himself with the revolutionaries.' His influence particularly on students was very substantial and a large number of them became his followers. As the situation in Punjab became tense, he left India in 1908 and reached London in September.

After the assassination of Curzon Wyllie by Madan Lal

Dhingra (1908), Indian revolutionaries in London shifted to Paris. Har Dayal too did that. He started *Bande Matram*, a monthly journal from Paris in September 1909 to prepare ground for independence. Not satisfied with the developments at Paris, he left for the U.S.A. in January 1911. Here he, along with Bhai Parmanand, worked with a view to organising Indians.

As his popularity increased and the First World War drew closer, he organised the Ghadr movement in the U.S.A. A paper, *Ghadr* was also started for undoing the British raj in India. As Har Dayal was the real brain behind the movement, the British Government pressed the U.S. Government to arrest him. To escape arrest, he migrated to Germany and in October 1914 sought German support for liberation of India. But to no avail. Distressed at the attitude of the German Government, he left Germany on October 10, 1918 for Stockholm and finally settled down in Sweden. After some years he went to England (1927), where he stayed for 10 years. He died on 4 March 1939 while on a lecture tour of America. More in vol. II.

HARI RAM

Hari Ram,[43] son of Mool Chand, a Khatri (Sethi) of Rawalpindi, was born in 1887. He matriculated from the Rawalpindi D.A.V. High School in 1907 and joined the D.A.V. College, Lahore. He was, however, withdrawn from the College on obtaining an appointment as assistant master in the Rawalpindi D.A.V. High School. He held this post for a few months only and was then persuaded by Bal Raj, son of Hans Raj, to rejoin the the D.A.V. College to pass the B.A. examination. He was successful.

He afterwards worked as the editor of the *Arya Tracts* and later became secretary of the *Arya Tract Society*. He joined the revolutionary party with Bal Raj and was implicated with him in the Delhi conspiracy case. But he was not prosecuted for want of evidence.

Description : Height about 5 feet 6 inches, medium build; fair complexion; dark eyes; long chin; no beard; small moustache; a scar on the forehead.

HARISH CHANDRA

Harish Chandra,[44] son of Mahatma Munshi Ram, was born in Jullundur. He had his education at the Kangri Gurukula. Later he became a professor there. He had a revolutionary bent of mind. In December 1914, he went to Europe along with Raja Mahendra Pratap. He travelled about with the revolutionary party's messages and visited America. He came to England where he was arrested and then released. Says an intelligence report about him: "Is very anti-British and a dangerous tool for the revolutionaries. Was particularly responsible for Ram Chandra's deposition."

After the first world war, his whereabouts were not known, although stories of various types were circulated about him.

ISHWARI PRASAD

Ishwari Prasad,[45] son of Behari Lal, a Khatri, formerly of Mathura, now of Lahore, was born in 1882. He was educated up to the middle standard in the D.A.V. School, Lahore. He "took to the politics of the extremist party, took an active part in the Bharat Mata agitation and was a member of the Anjuman-i-Mahibban-i-Watan and the Shining Club, Amritsar." He went underground after the riot case of 1907—often visited the United Provinces—on one occasion with Ajit Singh. In 1908, he wrote and sold books on national themes. He edited the *Bedari* a revolutionary paper : In 1909, he was prosecuted under Section 124-A; convicted and sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment. On being released from jail, he returned to Lahore in November 1912. He took to the work of the Samaj thereafter.

Description : Wheatish complexion; face pock-pitted; small eyes; short stature; medium build.

JAGAN NATH

Jagan Nath,[46] son of Mehr Chand, a bania of Kapurthala, was born in the year 1892. He passed the matriculation examination from the Randhir High School at Kapurthala and then joined his father in business as a commission agent. He later became

the owner of the Lakhmeshwar Press at Kapurthala and was concerned in 1913 in the printing of the seditious "Liberty" leaflets, 'together with his friends Ram Saran Das etc. who were involved in the Delhi conspiracy case of 1913.' The press was confiscated and Jagan Nath was banished from Kapurthala in February 1915, and interned in the Campbellpur Jail under the Ingress Ordinance. He was released in November 1917, and was permitted to return to Kapurthala. He was 'a zealous member of the Kapurthala Arya Samaj.'

Description : Height about 5 feet 6 inches; fat; dark complexion; round face.

JAGAT RAM

Jagat Ram,[47] son of Dittu Ram, a Brahmana of Hariana, a village in Hoshiarpur district, Punjab, was born in 1891. His father was an Arya Samajist and a congress worker. Jagat passed his matriculation examination from the Anglo-Sanskrit High School, Jullundur and joined the D.A.V. College, Jullundur. But the latter institution he left in 1911 when he went to America.

Jagat Ram had a political bent of mind and he was drawn to politics. Even while in India he was deeply influenced by Lala Lajpat Rai, Ajit Singh and Sufi Amba Prasad. He was a powerful advocate of *swadeshi*. In America, too, there was no let up. He was instrumental in organizing Indians there and in the formation of the Ghadr Party. He was the first treasurer of the organization and the general manager of the Ghadr Press at San Francisco from where the famous paper, the *Ghadr* was published. Later he became propaganda-secretary of the Ghadr party, and secretary of the *Yugantar Ashrama*.

Like most of his fellow-workers, he returned to India to overthrow the British government from inside after the outbreak of the WWI. He was arrested at Calcutta, but somehow he managed to escape. He worked hard to realize his aim but he was again arrested in 1915. There was a trial and he was sentenced to death in 1915. The sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. He died in 1955.

JAICHANDRA VIDYALANKARA

Jaichandra,[48] son of Karam Chand, of Kamalia, Montgomery district, was born in 1896. His was an Arya Samajist family whose every member was a nationalist worker—the most prominent being, besides him, his three brothers, Dharamchandra Narang, Devchandra Narang and Indrachandra Narang and a sister, Prabati who were connected with revolutionaries in Bengal, the United Provinces and the Punjab. Jaichandra received his education at Gurukula Kangri and he joined the revolutionary movement while very young. He soon became an important figure there. More about him in vol. II.

Description : Medium height; strong build; fair complexion; clean shaven; wears khaddar.

JAISI RAM, BAKHSHI

Jaisi Ram,[49] born in 1875 at Lahore, was an eminent Arya Samajist. He was an avowed advocate of *swadeshi* and *swarajya.* He took a keen interest in the growth of Congress and nationalist politics. He was a liberal man who formed a healthy link between warring factions of the Brahmanas and Arya Samajist in the public life of Punjab. It was chiefly owing to him that the two sessions of the Congress were held at Lahore in 1893, and 1900. He died in 1900 at a young age of 25. His son Bakhshi Tek Chand was a chip of the old block.

JASWANT RAI

Jaswant Rai,[50] son of Chura Mani, an Aggarwal (Vaishya) of Hissar (Haryana) was born on 25 March 1882. He was educated in Hissar and Lahore. From the latter place, he obtained his M.A. degree from the D.A.V. College.

In September 1904, he started the *Panjabee* newspaper, 'which soon developed into the most dangerous journal in the Punjab and the mouth-piece of Lajpat Rai's party.' He, as proprietor, and K.K. Athavale, as Editor of the paper were finally prosecuted in respect of an article which appeared in April 1906 and which accused a police officer of murder. He was sentenced

under Section 153-A, Indian Penal Code, to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000 which was finally reduced to six months' simple imprisonment with the same fine.

The case attracted tremendous public sympathy. The paper did not improve much on his release. Says an intelligence report: "It was soon realised by the Hindu leaders that Jaswant Rai was a hindrance to amicable relations between Government and their community. A syndicate was formed, which took over the paper in February 1910."

He subsequently travelled about in the interest of the Arya Samaj. By the end of 1910 he became Manager of the Import and Export Agency, Karachi, a post which necessitated frequent visits between Karachi and Punjab. At the end of seven years, he retired to private life in Hissar, having amassed a small fortune. He opened an Arya School there and began to teach. He aroused nationalist sentiments of his people in a variety of ways and bought political awakening in Haryana.

Description: Medium height; slight build; wheatish complexion; has a somewhat flat nose; wears spectacles; always dressed in swadeshi clothes.

KAHAN CHANDRA DEV, DR.

Kahan Chand[51] (alias Kahan Chandra Dev, alias K.C. Dev), son of Mansa Ram, a Khatri of Bari Khel, Moch police station, Mianwali district, was born in 1885. He matriculated from the Dera Ismail Khan Mission High School, and qualified as a sub-assistant surgeon at the Lahore Medical College. He was in government service from 1908 to 1913 and then went on leave to America. He studied medicine at Chicago for two years and started a local branch of the Arya Samaj there. He took his degree of M.B. at the end of 1914, and obtained an appointment in America.

He was a member of the Hindustan Students' Association of Chicago and became acquainted with a number of Indian revolutionaries, including Bhai Parmanand, and was in sympathy with the Ghadr movement. He was also reported 'to have been privy to an Indo-German plot to run arms up the Indus.'

He returned to India in July 1915 and after spending a few

months at his village, took up private practice in Lahore, about May 1916. He interested himself keenly in Arya Samaj matters. After some time he joined the Congress, contributed a number of nationalist articles to the press and was the chief organiser of the "Panjab National Volunteer Corps". In May 1917, he obtained the post of professor of Ayurvedic medicine in the D.A.V. College. He infused nationalist spirit in his people as an Arya Samajist and Congress activist. He was a close friend of Mahashe Krishan, the editor of the *Prakash*.

Description: Short; medium build; sallow complexion; no beard; big moustache; wears spectacles.

KANSHI RAM

Kanshi Ram[52], son of Ganga Ram, was born in 1883 at village Makroli Kalan, district Ambala. His was a Brahmana family who had taken to Arya Samaj. Kanshi Ram had his education at Ambala and Patiala. After finishing his education (Matriculation examination) he joined postal service as a telegraph clerk at the Dist. Post office, Ambala City, on Rs. 30 per month.

Kanshi Ram went to the U.S.A. in 1903 and became a labour contractor in a timber factory on the west coast. He founded the Indian Independence League at Portland. It was not a success. In 1913, he, as noted above, formed the Ghadr Party with Har Dayal. He made a handsome donation of 200 dollars towards its funds. As treasurer and later as propaganda secretary he rendered meritorious services both in the consolidation and expansion of the Party. He arrived in India in October 1914 and selected Ludhiana as the centre of his activities. 'An essential part of the programme being to spread sedition among Indian soldiers,' he visited several cantonments and explained the aims and objects of his party.

The paucity of funds made Kanshi Ram's work very difficult. After a great deal of thinking, he decided with the help of a band of 15 revolutionaries to plunder the Moga Government Treasury on November 25, 1914. The police came to know of their design and intercepted them with the help of a loyal zaildar and his followers. The revolutionaries killed the police official and the zaildar but could not escape from the mob. In consequence, Kanshi Ram and his friends were arrested. They

were produced before the Sessions Judge, Ferozepur, under Section 302 IPC. During the course of the trial the sessions judge said to Kanshi Ram: "Why don't you apologize and secure your release?" "I have done my duty and now you do yours," was the prompt reply of Kanshi Ram. The Sessions Judge gave death sentence to the revolutionary: he was hanged on 27 March 1915 and his property worth rupees forty thousand was confiscated.

KATIB, DIWAN CHAND

Dwan Chand,[53] son of Ralia Ram, of Kulluwal, police station Sambrial, district Sialkot, was born in the year 1895. He was not well-educated, but by sheer hard work acquired good knowledge of Urdu and Hindi. He became a *Katib* (copyist). He was an Arya Samajist and admirer of Ajit Singh. In 1907 he joined the latter's party for whom he used to do a lot of copying work. He served on the staff of the *Peshwa* and *Hindustan* as a *Katib.* In 1910, he turned a *sadhu* but did not give up the nationalist cause. He remained an intimate associate of Lal Chand Falak, Pindi Dass and most of the Lahore extremists, 'including Lajpat Rai, whose correspondence he is said at one time to have conducted.'

Description: Medium height and built; wheatish complexion; beard shaved; wears swadeshi clothes.

KESHO DEV, SHASTRI

Kesho Dev[54] (alias Keshab Deo Shastri) was son of Sukhanand, an Arora of Kamalia, Montgomery district. His real name was Rajada Ram. He was educated at the D.A.V. College, Lahore. He studied Sanskrit at Banaras. He then went to Calcutta, where he qualified as *Kaviraj* in Ayurvedic medicine. Returning to Banaras, he opened a medical hall and in course of time succeeded in establishing a lucrative practice.

He was president of the local Arya Samaj and also started a weekly Hindi paper called the *Nava Jiwan.* In July 1913, he went to America and secured an M.D. degree from the Electric Medical College, California in 1915. While in America he established an Arya Publishing Society with offices at Chicago

and San Francisco. He 'was in sympathy with Gurdit Singh's *Komagata Maru* venture and was associated with Ram Chand Peshawari, Har Dayal, Lajpat Rai and certain other revolutionaries. He was in favour of obtaining Home Rule by the revolution should it not be granted peacefully, and advocated the use of bombs and the burning of Government buildings to terrorise the British Government in India.' He was a prominent member of the Hindustan Association and was also 'associated with German conspirators and spies.'

In 1917 he secured the publication in India, through the good offices of Dwarka Prasad Sewak of the *Saraswate Sadhan*, Indore of a history of the Passive Resistance Movement in South Africa. (The book presented the European as an oppressor and exterminator of coloured races and depicted the "misery" of India in the usual sombre colours). Another of his literary productions of this period was an open letter to President Wilson, dealing with the condition of India and the tyranny of Kings. Enquiries into the "Maverick" incident in 1915, disclosed the existence of underground seditious propaganda in the United States with which the names of Kesho Deo, Bhai Permanand, etc. were connected. Shortly after this, he married Miss Minnie Jenson of Omaha and went to live in New York. His marriage ended his connection with the Home Rule League, but did not change his views, for at the end of 1918 he openly joined the Ghadr Party.

Description: Height about 5 feet; strong built; sallow complexion; no beard; small moustache; has a decided squint; stoops in walking; speaks English well.

KESHAB CHAND

Keshab Chand[55] was son of Mr. Sen, a Bengali doctor settled in Amritsar. He passed the matriculation examination from the Amritsar Hindu Sabha High School and then studied up to the B.A. standard at the D.A.V. College, Lahore. He was a member of the "Shining Club", and was 'a staunch Arya Samajist and an extremist.' He worked a great deal to effect political awakening among the masses.

Description: Height about 5 feet 5 inches; strong built; fair

complexion; round face; large eyes; curly hair; a mole on the right cheek; no beard; wears a moustache.

KHEM CHAND

Khem Chand,[56] son of Hira Lal Vaishaya (Aggarwal) of Panipat, Karnal district, was born in 1887. He was a money-lender who owned some land in the Panipat tehsil. He was President of the local Arya Samaj. He aroused nationalist feeling among the masses in his area.

Description: Height about 5 feet 7 inches; thin built; wheatish complexion; no beard; talks through his teeth.

KISHAN CHAND, DR.

Kishan Chand,[57] son of Haveli Ram, a Khatri of Badiana, police station Philloura, district Sialkot, was born in 1877. He was an Arya Samajist and 'an extremist and a prominent member of the seditious clique at Sialkot which comprised the Bengal Coal Agency. A friend of Ajit Singh and Kishan Singh, he was reported by the CID to be 'an active supporter of the Home Rule Movement and an agitator.'

Description: Fair complexion; wears glasses; slight moustache; slim built; height 5 feet 5 inches.

KISHAN SINGH

Kishan Singh,[58] son of Arjan Singh, a Sandhu Jat of Khatkar Kalan village, Banga police station, Jullundur was born in a famous Arya Samajist family in 1875. He was the elder brother of Ajit Singh. He passed the middle school examination and studied theology for a short time in D.A.V. College, Lahore. He took an active part in the uprising of 1907, 'addressing meetings and gathering zamindars from the *mufassil* to listen to the lectures of Ajit Singh, Anand Kishore and Lajpat Rai with the last of whom he had been connected since 1897.' He was arrested in 'the riot case' at Lahore and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

He again came to the fore in 1909, when he lectured against government and was associated with the *Peshwa* and the

Sahayak. He was also interested in the Bharat Mata Book Agency, which issued 'the stream of seditious publications from the pen of Ajit Singh and was sentenced to one year and five months' rigorous imprisonment under Section 124-A, Indian Penal Code. On his release he interested himself with Dhanpat Rai, pleader of Kasur, in the Gauraksha movement. He joined the Congress about this time and worked for India's independence with great zeal through his life.

Description: Height about 5 feet 8 inches; medium built; wheatish complexion; long face; thin nose; grey beard about 6 inches in length; knows a little English.

KHURSAND, KHUSHAL CHAND

Khushal Chand[59] (alias Anand Swami), son of Ganesh Das, a Khatri of Jalalpur Jattan, Gujrat district was born in 1887. He passed the matriculation examination from the district Board High School at Gujarat and studied for some time at the Lahore D.A.V. College. He was a staunch Arya Samajist and, about 1905, he was appointed editor of the Arya Gazette, Lahore, the organ of the Punjab Arya Pradeshik Pratinidhi Sabha. He aroused patriotic sentiments of the people by his mighty pen and powerful oratory. Early in 1918, he joined the Indian Home Rule League.

Description: Medium height; strong built; wheatish complexion; prominent eyes; heavy moustache but no beard; occasionally wears glasses.

KOTU MAL PANDIT

Kotu Mal,[60] son of Raghunandan Lal, a Brahaman of Bohan Patti village, Hoshiarpur Sadr police station, Hoshiarpur district, was born in 1870. He passed the matriculation examination of the Panjab University and worked for some time in government service. Later he shifted to business which flourished. He 'was a zealous Arya Samajist and until 1917 confined his energies to Arya affairs.' About July 1918, however, he came to 'the fore as an extremist politician and a keen advocate of Home Rule.'

Description: Height about 5 feet 7 inches; heavy built;

sallow complexion; round face; small eyes; no beard; trimmed moustache; broad forehead; grey hair; wears a felt cap in summer and a turban in winter.

KRISHAN, MAHASHE

Krishan,[61] son of Tara Chand, a Khatri of Wazirabad, in West Pakistan, was born in 1881. He had his school education at the Mission High School, Wazirabad. For further studies he joined the Islamia College, Lahore and passed his intermediate examination from there in 1900. Later he shifted to the Forman Christian College from where he passed his B.A. examination in 1902. While at Lahore he became friendly with Dr. Satyapal, Lala Dina Nath (of the *Hindustan*) and Dr. Charanjiv Bhardwaj, under whose influence he became an Arya Samajist.

He became interested in nationalist politics right from his student days. He was a prolific writer and this explains his appointment in 1903 as editor of the *Arya Patrika*, an official weekly organ of the Arya Samaj. After some time, he started his own Urdu weekly, *Prakash* from Lahore (1906) through which he brought political awakening to the masses.

LAJPAT RAI

Lajpat Rai,[62] son of Radha Kishan, a Jaini Khatri of Jagraon, Ludhiana district, was born on 28 January 1865 at Dudhika, his maternal grandfather's village not far away from Jagraon. His father was a Persian teacher in the Punjab Education Department. Lajpat Rai matriculated, but on failing in subsequent examinations, became a pleader and started practice at Hissar from 1889 to 1892.

In 1892, he moved to Lahore. He engaged himself in the work of Arya Samaj, besides his legal practice. In 1897, he practically abandoned legal work and devoted himself to the interests of the Arya Samaj and politics. In 1905, he was elected by the Indian Association to represent the Punjab on a Congress deputation to England. He also visited America and returned to India the same year. On landing, he addressed a meeting at Bombay, at which he said that 'the time had come to replace words with deeds.' In 1906, he toured and lectured,

nominally on the *swadeshi* movement, and became the member of 'the Servants of India Society' the political organisation founded by the Late Mr. Gokhale.

In 1907, he took part in the Punjab agitation for which he was deported to Mandalay on 9 May 1907. His deportation having brought him great popularity, he carried on political propaganda with much success in the form of lectures and writings. Disappointed with the split in the Congress in 1907 and absence of agitation in the Punjab, he left for England again in March 1909. He visited England a third time in the following year ostensibly owing to the ill-health of his elder son, and delivered several anti-British addresses.

On the death of his son he withdrew from public life for a time, but in May 1911, he stood for the Lahore Municipal Committee and was elected at the top of the poll in his ward. During 1912, he again busied himself with Arya Samaj affairs. He lectured in the United Provinces and the Punjab, mostly on religious topics and made an unsuccessful bid for election to the Provincial Legislative Council in December 1912. According to an intelligence report, he 'was believed to have been privy to the Delhi and Lahore bomb outrages of 1913, but there was no proof of this.'

In 1914, the Vedic Salvation Army, the object of which was to raise the depressed classes, was started under his patronage. In May he was selected to represent the Punjab on a Congress deputation to England. From England he went to America and thence to Japan, after which he returned to America. He returned to India after the war. More in Vol. II.

Description: Height about 5 feet 5 inches; medium built: dark complexion; no beard; longish moustache; rather blear-eyed, with a curious habit of blinking; wears semi-European costume.

LATTA, RIKHIKESH

Rikhikesh Latta[63] (alias Rikhi Ram alias R.K. Latta alias George Zia ud-din, alias Zia ud-din), son of Chaudhri Shib Datt Ram, a Brahmana of Dhosara village, Una tehsil, Hoshiarpur district, was born in 1887. He passed the middle

school examination from the Hoshiarpur D.A.V. High School, but failed to matriculate. After leaving school, he worked as an Arya *upadeshak* and came in contact with Ajit Singh and Sufi Amba Parshad. In 1910, he went away with them to Persia where he assumed the name of Zia ud-din and passed as a Persian subject. In 1912, he obtained a passport from the Persian government and proceeded to New York. In America he joined the Ghadr party of Har Dayal and was in close touch with M. Barkat Ullah and Ram Chandra Peshawari. He worked for the Ghadr movement until the outbreak of the Great War, and, in December 1914, was sent to Germany with Kedar Nath Sondhi, who was subsequently 'executed in Persia for acts of open hostility against the British.' In Germany they worked in printing presses and learned aviation, and the use of machine guns. He proposed to go to Turkey, then to Persia, Afghanistan and the Indian frontiers where he was to join others for Indian revolution.

After working for some time in Germany, Rikhikesh went to Constantinople in January 1915, with a party of about 20 Indians most of whom were Hindus travelling under Muslim names. Shortly afterwards, he joined one of two German Missions with the object of spreading anti-British propaganda and opening up communication with India. The mission reached Baghdad in May, where its members delivered highly inflammatory speeches against the British Government. A score of emissaries were then sent to Afghanistan and the N.W.F.P. with printed revolutionary leaflets received from Berlin and San Francisco.

The Turks, however, suspected the *bona fides* of the mission and the Indians including Rikhikesh were imprisoned for six days as German spies. The mission was eventually expelled from Baghdad, and Rikhikesh with two others proceeded to Persia in June 1915. They had got as far as Khanikin when they were arrested by the Turkish authorities, but after three days' detention, they were released and returned to Baghdad. In September, Rikhikesh left Baghdad a second time for Persia and is believed to have followed the German Klein's mission, which 'comprised, among others, Raja Mahendra Partap and M. Barkat Ullah and had for its object the raising of irregular forces in East Persia, Baluchistan and Afghanistan

with a view to raiding the Indian Frontier.' Rikhikesh then went to Shiraz and interviewed Sufi Amba Parshad. He also visited Kirman and the borders of Afghanistan, but later returned to Tehran. He appears to have remained in Persia until 1918, when he returned to Berlin, via Turkey. He started an Arya Samaj in Berlin but it was not a success. "He is a thorough revolutionary," says a British intelligence report, "and a man of considerable importance."

LAXMIDATT

Laxmidatt,[64] son of Bhojdatt, a famous Arya activist of Agra, was born in 1885. After receiving some formal education he, like his father, became a preacher of Arya Samaj. He was a nationalist who exhorted his people to go for *swadeshi* and *swarajya*. The British intelligence took serious note of one of his lectures delivered at Mathura on 21 November 1908 to the effect that 'a nation can improve only by fighting,' for which he was punished.

LOK NATH, PANDIT

Lok Nath,[65] son of Mangu Mal, a Brahmana of Kot Adu village in Muzzaffargarh district, Punjab, was born in 1882. He was well-versed in Sanskrit and also knew a little Urdu and English. Although born in an orthodox Brahmana family, he joined the Arya Samaj.

He was first a Sanskrit teacher in an Arya school, but soon showed himself a fluent speaker and was employed as a paid preacher by the Arya Samaj. His activities were at first related to the propagation of the Arya faith, but he later advocated *swadeshi* and *swarajya*. He also joined the Congress and acccording to an intelligence report: 'did much to keep it alive during the years of stagnation.'

Description: Medium built; sallow complexion; both ears pierced; dresses in Swadeshi clothes.

MEHTA, ANAND KISHORE

Anand Kishore,[66] son of Radha Kishan, a Khatri of Bazar

Wachhowali, Lahore, was born in 1887. He was educated up to the middle standard at the Lahore D.A.V. School, where he was a classfellow of Kishan Singh, uncle of Bhagat Singh. After leaving school, he at first kept a *swadeshi* hosiery shop but later became secretary of the *Anjuman-i-Muhibban-i-Watan* and took a very active part in the meetings held at the Bharat Mata office.

He joined Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh in their lecturing tours in 1907 and was arrested in a riot case at Lahore. He jumped his bail, however, and went to Nepal with Sufi Amba Parshad and Kishan Singh. On re-arrest he was acquitted.

Owing to his close association with Kishan Singh, his father turned him out of his house. In 1915, he was found to be in communication with returned emigrants. He was sent for trial in the Lahore Conspiracy Case, but was discharged. He did not give up his revolutionary activities even after these riots. In August 1915, he was accordingly, served with an order under the Defence of India Rules restricting him to Chaubarn village in the Leiah tehsil, Muzaffargarh district. Here he acquired a certain amount of influence with the villagers, started a primary school and began to inculcate Arya Samajist doctrines in their minds. To prevent further extension of his influence among the ignorant Hindu villagers, he was restricted to Sitapur, Alipur tehsil, in the same district, in February 1918. As he continued to stir up people even then, he was again transferred twice, finally to Malepur, Kabirwala tehsil in Multan district. He was released under the Royal Amnesty in January 1920.

Description: Short stature; stout built; wheatish complexion; broad flat face; no beard; small moustache; wears ordinary pyjamas, a coat and turban.

MUKHERJI, HARI NATH (DR.)

Hari Nath,[67] son of Tara Nath Mookerji, a Brahmana of Bhowanipur, Calcutta was born in 1872. He studied at the Cambell Medical School at Sealdah and passed the vernacular L.M.S. Examination. He came to Ambala in 1897 and after serving six months in a chemist's shop, he started a druggist's shop of his own in the Sadr Bazaar.

He joined Arya Samaj and evinced sympathy with Arya Samajists and those generally who had fallen foul of Government. He had revolutionary leanings and was a keen advocate of bombs and assassination. His address was found in anarchists' note-books seized in the Manicktolla conspiracy. In August 1908 he was alleged to have corresponded with the Lahore extremist party.

His shop in Ambala 'is believed to be a rendezvous for extremists from other provinces who visit the Punjab.' There was a link between the revolutionaries of Bengal and the Punjab.

Description: Wheatish complexion; medium built; large eyes; a mole on the left cheek; height 5 feet 8 inches; knows English and Bengali and is a Freemason.

MUL CHAND

Mul Chand,[68] son of Sant Ram, a goldsmith of Katra Baggian Amritsar City, was born in 1885. He was an Arya Samajist who took an active part in the agitation of 1907. He 'came into prominence again in 1909 as the chief local agent of the Lahore extremist party.' He opened a shop in Amritsar in order to sell political literature. He was once warned on this account and his house was searched in 1911 and 'many seditious publications were seized.'

He is also said to have been the founder of the Shining Club and to have joined with Kedar Nath Sehgal and Lal Chand Falak in a conspiracy to assassinate the King-Emperor at the Delhi Coronation Darbar.

He was associated with the *Bijli* of Lahore in 1914, and similar enterprises. He was later reported to have deposited a number of prescribed books with a goldsmith of Amritsar, named Kirpal Singh, who was subsequently convicted. Mul Chand had no fixed abode and generally oscillated between Jammu, Sialkot, Kathoa and Hardwar. He 'was a staunch opponent of British rule.'

Description: Height about 5 feet 6 inches; slim built; wheatish complexion; no beard; small moustaches; speaks very slowly.

MUNSHI RAM, MAHATMA (ALIAS SWAMI SHRADDHANANDA)

Munshi Ram[69] was born at Talwan (Jullundur) on 22 February 1857 in a well-known Khatri family. His father Nanak Chand was a police inspector. Munshi Ram's first name was Brihaspati which was later changed. His education began at Banaras and ended at Lahore wherefrom he passed the examination of pleadership.

He started his life as a devout Shaivite. But the education and the company that he got at college made him an atheist. To his good luck, however, in 1882 he was perchance in Bareilly when Swami Dayananda visited the place. He, at the persuasion of his father, attended the lectures of the Swami. Munshi Ram liked the man and his discourse and turned a theist at once. While doing his law at Lahore he came in contact with many Arya friends who made him formally join the Arya Samaj at Lahore. Once there, he became a very important Arya activist. He travelled widely throughout the length and breadth of the country preaching the teachings of Swami Dayananda.

Munshi Ram married Shiva Devi, the daughter of Rai Saheb Salig Ram, a very prominent citizen and rich banker of Jullundur. Unfortunately, however, his married life proved short. His wife died when he was 35 years old, leaving behind two sons and two daughters—namely, Harish Chandra and Indra, Vedakumari and Amritakala. Both the sons were the first alumni of Gurukula Kangri (Hardwar). Harish Chandra went abroad on a political mission never to return. Indra Vidyavachaspati acquired a conspicuous place among the Indian elite, making a name in journalism as well as social and political spheres.

Munsi Ram worked as a naib tehsildar for a short time, then took to pleading, and later left everything and became a full time Samaj activist. He founded, in 1902, a Gurukula at Kangri Hardwar, a unique residential seat of learning with ancient Vedic ideals and national outlook. Mahatma Gandhi was first drawn to this institution while he was in South Africa and he stayed there on his return to India when he earned from Munshi Ram the title of 'Mahatma'.

Munshi Ram came to have interest in the Congress and the

nationalist politics in late 1880s. In the Mahatma's own words: "In 1888 A.D., I came in somewhat close contact with the national movement. The session of the Congress was to be held in the last week of December 1888 at Allahabad. Kali Babu, Sub-editor of the Lahore *Tribune*, was deputed to establish a Congress Committee at Jalandhar city where I was practising as a Pleader. Kali Babu was a friend of mine and an Arya Samajist. . . . I was appointed Secretary. . . . But the first experience was not happy: in the very next meeting of the Executive Committee I was disgusted and resigned from the secretary's office."[70] There was no link with the Congress for five years or so after this. But then in the year 1893, the ninth annual session of the Indian National Congress was invited for the first time on behalf of the Punjab and he had to be in the thick of the business, for Bakshi Jaisi Ram, the chief host of the Congress, was his close friend.[71]

Again there was a break: for full six years after the Lahore Session, 'I had no connection with any Congress movement. I was convinced that the fetters of slavery could not be broken asunder by drawing room politicians.'[72] The Lucknow Congress further estranged him from the national organisation. Says he: "At the Lucknow Congress of 1899 there were other incidents connected with the moral character of Congressmen which disgusted me with the movement. . . . I was so indifferent to the activities of that body that I did not go to Lahore during the time it was holding its sitting (1900) and reached only on the day when everything was over. . . . Sir (then Mr.) Narayana Chandarkar presided at the Congress Session and was soon after raised to the Bombay High Court Bench. It became a common adage at the time that the Presidentship of the National Congress was the passage which led to the High Court tribunal."[73]

After Lajpat Rai's arrest, this indifference took a new turn: fearing harm coming to the Arya Samaj and the Gurukula over whose destiny he presided, the Mahatma claimed that 'Arya Samaj had nothing to do with politics.' But such an attitude did not last long—seeing Lajpat Rai being criticised by his own Arya Samajist brethren, he changed his position. "Gurukulites stood for his innocence," says he, "when his own party in Arya Samaj refused to be responsible for his actions."[74] He also took

interest in the Surat Congress and went all the way to Surat. There, however, the maltreatment of the so-called extremists made him unhappy.

His interest in politics was reduced a great deal after Surat Split and he took to constructive work of the Samaj, like Harijan upliftment programme, spread of education, etc. which he carried on throughout the period under reference.[75]

He took *sanyasa* in 1917 and became Shraddhananda. He made Delhi his headquarters hereafter and concentrated on social and political work. He started two papers, the *Tej* and the *Arjuna* from Delhi. He reached the zenith of his political career in 1919 when he was rated as 'more powerful than Gandhi' in northern India. But this story belongs to volume II.

MURLIDHAR

Murlidhar,[76] son of Bhikam Sain, an Aggarwal Vaishya, was born on 30 May 1848, at Palwal, a small town in Haryana. He received his early education at Palwal and higher education (B.A., LL.B) at Lahore. He took to legal profession in 1872 and shifted to Ambala for good.

Murlidhar was a first rate lawyer. But his heart was not in the profession—social service appealed more to him. He took part in the management of civic affairs of Ambala and participated in politics. He worked for political mobilization of the masses.

He was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress (Bombay—28 December 1885). He opened a branch of the Congress at Ambala in January 1886—this was the first branch of the Congress in the whole of the country. In 1886, he was arrested for criticizing the local bureaucracy. This was another first scored by Murlidhar—he became the first Congressman to have suffered imprisonment, as a political activist.

Murlidhar was a powerful advocate of *swadeshi*. He was a great reformer, and an equally great servant of his people. In recognition of the latter work, the government conferred on him the title of Rai Sahib in 1898; several *sanads* and medals in the following years, and the Kaisar-i-Hind medal in 1904.

Murlidhar also worked a great deal in organizing the Congress at the provincial level. To call him the father of the

Punjab provincial conferences would not be incorrect. When Gandhiji launched his non-cooperation movement, he jumped into it without caring for his old age and poor health. He returned his title of Rai Sahib, sanads, medals and all that and became a non-cooperator. Overwork killed him, however, on 25 April 1922. "The grand old man of the Punjab is no more," wrote *The Tribune* on his death in its obituary note of 30th April, "but the inspiration of his worthy example lives."

MUSTT, DAYAVANTI

Dayavanti,[77] daughter of Ram Chand, a Rajput of Moron village, Jullundur district, was born in 1891. She was married to Dr. Salamat Rai of Turi Bazar, Ferozepur. Her husband was an advanced Arya Samajist and during his lifetime Dayavanti was prominent as an advocate of female education. She worked a lot for propagating *swadeshi* and *swaraj* among the masses, especially the women folk.

Description: Short; medium built; wheatish complexion; face slightly pock-pitted; wears *khaddar*.

NAND GOPAL

Nand Gopal,[78] son of Bulaqi Ram Chopra, Bar-at-Law of Hafizabad, Gujranwala district, was born in 1888. He was an Arya Samajist. He came to notice as a dangerous political agitator in 1907, when he was associated with the Bharat Mata Society. He became editor of the *Inqilab* of Lahore, which was suppressed in December 1908 for publishing 'incitements to violence.' He also wrote and published 'a seditious book' entitled *Quami-Alah* for which he was prosecuted under section 24-A, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to five years transportation early in 1910.

Until his arrest, he was editor of the *Swarajya* of Allahabad, with the cooperation, it is said, of Ajit Singh. He was also author of the *Sadn-i-Hind*, a book 'with strong anti-British tendencies.' In March 1910, he was sentenced to another term of five years' transportation. He was released in February 1919. Ajit Singh, Lal Chand Falak, Mehta and Pindi Das were his associates. He was also a personal friend of C.F. Andrews.

Description: Medium height; slim built; wheatish complexion; round face; large eyes; no beard; small moustache.

NARANG, GOKAL CHAND

Gokal Chand[79] Narang, son of Mul Raj Arora of Baddoke village, Gakhhar police station, Gujranwala district, was born in 1882. He was educated by the Arya Samaj owing to the poverty of his father. He passed the M.A. examination from the Lahore D.A.V. College. Later he worked there as a professor for about five years on a nominal salary of Rs. 75 a month. He went to Germany for six months and thence to England to read for the Bar. His expenses being paid partly by the Arya Samaj and partly by his brother-in-law, a merchant in Abbottabad. While in London, he 'associated with extreme agitators'. He returned to Punjab at the end of 1910 and 'took an active part in organizing agitation.' He later turned a moderate in politics.

Description: Height about 5 feet 7 inches; medium built; sallow complexion; wears spectacles; generally dresses in European style and wears a felt cap.

NARAYAN, SWAMI

Narayan Swami[80] was the disciple of the late Swami Ram Tirtha. He was variously known as R.S. Narayan Swami, Swami Sriman Ramji, Swami Narayan Ram and Swami Ramji, but his original name was Durga Das. His father's name was Bhim Sen. He was a Khatri of Kesaran. He was educated in Amritsar where from he passed the Punjab University entrance examination. After that he obtained employment in the district magistrate's office at Lahore.

He went to Japan, Europe and America in 1900. On the death of his Guru, Narayan Swami lived in Tehri state. Later he moved about a good deal in the United Provinces and Punjab attending and often speaking at Arya Samaj meetings. He had a revolutionary bent of mind and trained several youngmen as revolutionaries. Amir Chand of Delhi Conspiracy

case was his pupil. Police got hold of suspicious correspondence in the Delhi searches between Amir Chand and the Swami.

The Swami's headquarters was situated at Rikhikesh, but he frequently visited Punjab and other regions. His associates were Amir Chand of Delhi, Puran Singh of Dehra Dun, Lal Chand Falak and Gobind Ram of the Bharat Hindu Hotel, Lahore. His contribution to national cause was very substantial.

Description: Of ordinary built; wheatish complexion; round face; clean shaven; generally wears a *gerua* coloured turban and gown; talks rapidly, and knows English, Sanskrit and Urdu well.

PARBATI

Parbati,[81] daughter of Karam Chand, a shopkeeper of Kamalia, Montgomery district, was born in 1887. She married one Milkhi Ram of Gujrat who was sub-assistant surgeon at Quetta, but on his death in 1908, she returned to Kamalia where she worked as a teacher in the Arya Girls School. About 1910, she took up preaching work in the United Provinces and elsewhere. She preached *swadeshi* and *swarajya* besides other things. Later she joined as head mistress in the Vedic Dharma Girls School, Amritsar.

Description: Medium height; strongly built; fair complexion; has a mole on her right eyebrow; wears spectacles.

PARMANAND, BHAI

Bhai Parmanand,[82] son of Tara Chand, a Mohyal Brahmana of Karyala village, Chakwal police station, Jhelum district, was born in 1874. He had his early education at his village school from where he passed the matriculation examination. Then he moved to Lahore and passed his B.A. examination from there. He secured M.A. degree from Panjab University (1902) and then became an itinerant lecturer and preacher of the Arya Samaj.

Later he took up professorship of History at the D.A.V. College, Lahore. It was here that he came 'under the influence of Lajpat Rai.' In 1905, he visited South Africa as an emissary of the Arya Samaj, again a year later as a preacher of the Sthindra Mission, which had been established to improve the

condition of Indians in that colony. In 1907 he went to England for further studies and attended lectures at King's College, London. While in England, says an intelligence report, he 'contributed many articles to the Indian extremist papers. He helped Har Dayal, Madan Lal Dhingra (the murderer of Sir W. Curzon Wyllie) and other extremists.' He returned to India in May, 1908 and resumed his duties at the D.A.V. College.

But he had hardly spent a few months here, when his house was raided by the police (November, 1909). In the search. 'some incriminating material—a manual on explosives and bombs, similar to that recovered from the Maniktolla Garden, Calcutta was discovered in a box . . . together with other seditious matter, including correspondence which had passed between Lajpat Rai and Parmanand while the latter was in London.' These documents, said the same source, proved that Bhai Parmanand had for several years been 'connected with Indian Revolutionaries, and had even drawn up an Indian constitution to be put into force on the evacuation of India by the English.' He was put on his trial under Section 110, C.P.C. in April 1910. He denied the charges but he was bound down on security of Rs. 9,000 for three years.

As a result of his prosecution, he was dismissed from the D.A.V. College. But, says another intelligence report, he kept on getting his salary regularly. He left for Europe, in October 1910 to study medicine. He first visited Paris and from there went to Demarara where he tried to start a Hindu School. Then he went on to America visiting Trinidad en route. He remained in America for two years studying medicine, first at New York and then at San Francisco. All through these days, says a police report, he was 'in close touch with Har Dayal and became an active member of the Ghadr Party.' He was given 150 dollars from the *Ghadr* funds to come back to India . . . to continue the work of the mission. He reached Lahore in December 1913, and, says the same source, helped the revolutionaries 'to commit dacoities and to seduce native regiments . . . . The dissemination of seditious literature, in particular, was in his hands.' There is very little truth in these allegations, however. In fact, what he did was this: he sowed the seeds of sedition in the hearts and minds of his students and youngmen. At the end of

1914, he published his *Tarik-i-Hind* (History of India) which was proscribed in February 1915. He was tried in the Lahore Conspiracy case and sentenced to death by a majority of the Commissioners. Later, however, the sentence was reduced to transportation for life. But these details fall within the scope of volume II.

PATHAK, SOHAN LAL

Sohan Lal Pathak,[83] son of Chandi Ram, a poor Brahmana of Patti, district Amritsar, was born on 7 January 1883. He had early education at the village school at Patti from where he passed the middle standard examination. He was a brilliant lad, but could not go for higher studies owing to his poverty. He took up a job in the Irrigation Department: After some time he left the job and joined the Normal Training School, Lahore. On completion of the course, he took up the work of a school teacher.

During his stay at Lahore, Pathak 'developed strong leanings towards the national movement.' Especially, the revolutionary upsurge of 1905-07 created a deep impact on his mind. He resigned his job as a protest against the headmaster's order to break off his contacts with Lala Lajpat Rai and other national leaders. He became Joint editor of *Bande Matram* an Urdu journal, he came also in contact with Har Dayal. About this time his wife gave birth to a child; unfortunately the mother and child died. Pathak became desperate and within a week left India in 1907 for Siam (Thailand) and the Philippines. After some time he went to America. There he came in close contact with Har Dayal who had set up the Ghadr Party in California. Pathak became a Ghadr activist.

During the WWI, Pathak 'took upon himself the assignment of raising a revolt among Indian soldiers of the British army stationed in Burma, Malaya and Singapore.' His efforts bore fruits when Indian soldiers in Singapore revolted (March 1915). Then from Singapore he moved to Burma where he was arrested in August 1915 at Memyo. He was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to death. He died on the gallows on 10 February 1916.

PINDI DAS

Pindi Das,[84] son of Ishar Das, a Khatri of village Vaniawal, in district Gujranwala, was born on 10 June 1886. He was educated up to middle standard. While very young, he joined a printing press at Lahore, which his father had started after being dismissed from service. He was a gifted writer and this explains as to how he came to be appointed an editor of a local paper of the Arya Samaj at Lyallpur at such a young age. But unfortunately the paper failed.

He and his father then started their own paper—the famous *India.* Pindi wrote very powerful indictments of the government and European officials in his paper. In 1907 he wrote articles which were, in the eyes of the government, 'calculated to seduce soldiers from their allegiance.' He was arrested for this offence and was tried and sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment under Sections 124-A and 131, I.P.C.

On release from jail, (early 1911), he, along with his associates Kishan Singh, Lal Chand Falak, Mehta Anand Kishore, and other extremists served the national cause. He opened bookshops at Gujranwala and Lahore and sold nationalist literature. He also started a Press known as the 'India Art Press.'

On the arrest of Bhai Parmanand in the Lahore Conspiracy case in 1915, he was rated as his collaborator and as such action was then taken against him. Under the Defence of India Rules, he was restricted to Jandanwala in the Mianwali district. He was soon reported to have acquired considerable influence in the area. In consequence, he was removed from the district and sent to Gujranwala district from where he was released under the Royal Amnesty in January 1920.

Description: Medium height; thin built; sallow complexion; almond shaped eyes; eyebrows depressed towards the nose; coarse lips; drssses in ordinary Indian style.

PHUL CHAND CHAUDHARI

Phul Chand,[85] son of Dalu Ram Chaudhari of village Gawar, Tahsil Hissar was born in 1887. He was educated in Calcutta where his father was a clerk in the High Court. His was an

Arya Samajist family which sowed seeds of patriotism in the heart of young Phul Chand.

He joined the revolutionary movement in Bengal and looted arms for his party from the concern of Messrs. Rodda, Calcutta in 1914. He was also entangled in Bengal revolutionary conspiracies. He was arrested under Section 12-A of the Defence of India Rules by the Bengal authorities in 1918 and sent back to the Punjab under Rule 3(b). He was examined, but he refused to make a full statement disclosing all his knowledge. The Punjab Government passed orders restricting him to his village. Subsequently, the order was relaxed in 1918.

Description: Height 5 feet 5 inches; fair complexion; large eyes: a mole on right cheek; a birthmark 6″×2″ on right leg exterior below the knee, knows English.

PRAGDATT

Pragdatt[86] was an Arya Samaj preacher from Hardoi (U.P.). Very little is known about his life and activities. An intelligence report, however (1910), says: 'He is reported as on more than one occasion lecturing at Arya Samaj meetings on political subjects. In May 1908, he commended the example of the Bengalis to his hearers at an Arya Samaj meeting at Hardoi and showed that they were getting whatever they wanted by agitation and combination.'

PURI, RAM NATH

Ram Nath Puri,[87] son of Jawala Mal Puri of Khem Karan, Lahore, was a staunch Arya Samajist. After passing the middle standard examination he became a clerk in the People's Bank, Lahore. In 1905 he wrote 'objectionable pamphlets and published a seditious cartoon.' At the end of 1906 he went to America, where he worked in various small jobs and founded a Hindustan Association and published the proscribed "Circular of Freedom," in San Francisco and Oakland, California. In 1910, he was in communication with Har Dayal and Taraknath Dass on national problems. He came to India in July 1911 by way of Tokyo, where he delivered a very objectionable speech at a dinner given to Barkat Ullah. On coming here he visited

Kangri Gurukula and advised students to go to America and obtain liberty. He left India in November 1914 with his wife and returned to America via England. He is, says an intelligence report, 'an extremely violent seditionist.''[88]

RAMSARUP

Ramsarup[89] was an Arya activist of district Aligarh. As discussed elsewhere, Kanwar Hukam Singh, the Zamindar of Angai, a village in district Mathura had established a Vedic Ashrama at Aligarh where revolutionaries took shelter. Ramsarup was superintendent of this Ashrama.

He was a revolutionary himself. This fact came to light in 1908 and he was arrested along with his friend Hoti Lal Verma. He was tried under Section 124-A I.P.C. found guilty and awarded 3 years' rigorous imprisonment on 5 October 1908.

RATTAN CHAND

Rattan Chand[90] (Ratto), son of Sita Ram, a Khatri of Kucha Rama Nand, Amritsar City was born in 1882. He was illiterate, says a police report, 'but is called Mahasha on account of excessive zeal in the affairs of Arya Samaj.' He was a member of the *Shining Club* and took part in the political unrest of 1907.

Description: Height about 5 feet 5 inches; stout built; wheatish complexion; no beard; small moustache; a scar on the forehead.

ROY, KALI NATH

Kali Nath Roy,[91] son of B.B. Roy, was born in the year 1872 in Calcutta. After finishing his education, he took to journalism. Because of his Arya Samaj connections, he came to have strong nationalist views. He was formerly Assistant Editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and was the right hand man of the Editor, the late Babu Moti Lal Ghose. He was also at one time on the staff of the *Bengalee* at Calcutta. He came to Punjab as the editor of the *Punjab*, but in 1917, he became the editor of *The*

Tribune. He was always a strong critic of government and stirred the masses through his thoughtful, patriotic writings.

SATAVALEKAR, SHRIPAD DAMODAR

Shripad Damodar Satavalekar[92] was born on 19 December 1867 at Koalagaon, district Ratnagiri, Maharashtra in a middle class Brahmana family. His father, Damodar Anantbhatta, was a great Sanskrit Scholar. After receiving traditional education in Sanskrit, he studied art and painting at the J.J. School of Arts, Bombay. On finishing his education, he took to the profession of a photographer and painter at Hyderabad. He was very popular with the Hindus there for whom he ran a gymnasium, a debating club and several schools. It was here that he came in touch with Arya Samaj and came under its spell. He also took to nationalist politics under its influence. The Hyderabad administration was annoyed with him for these activities and expelled him from the state. From Hyderabad he went to Hardwar and joined the Gurukula Kangri there as an art teacher.

While at Hardwar, he wrote an article, 'The Splendour of Vedic Prayers,' published in the *Vishwavritta* (26 April 1908) of Professor Annasaheb Vijapurkar. He also wrote a book entitled *Vedic Rashtragita* (Vedic national song) which was banned.

It was believed that Satavalekar was a member of some revolutionary society. The British Government, therefore, incited the ruler of Kolhapur to get him arrested. He was arrested and taken to Kolhapur in 1908. There he was tried for offences but, despite best efforts, no evidence could be formed on the basis of which the charges could stand. He was, therefore, let off.

After his release, he did not give up his work. Rather he pursued it with added zeal and greater enthusiasm. He is believed to have organized a revolutionary society called *Bandhaya Samaj* in Hardwar about this time. Several *brahmacharis* from the *gurukula* were its members. The government also came to know of these facts and they thought of taking action against 'the institution where sedition was preached.' But before any action could come Satavalekar left the Gurukula (1908).

From Hardwar Satavalekar went to Lahore and opened a studio there which was just a cloak to hide his revolutionary activities. The government came to know of this aspect of his work soon but they took some time to initiate action. He came to know in 1917 that he was about to be arrested. To save himself from the 'beating of Sir Michael O'Dwyer he left Punjab for good (1917).

From Lahore he went to Aundh, a small state in Maharashtra and established his 'Swadhyaya Mandala' there for pursuing his Vedic studies. In politics, too, he remained active as we shall see in vol. II. He died at Pandi on 31 July 1968.

SATYA DEVA, SWAMI

Satya Deva[93] (alias Sat Deva, alias Sukh Lal) son of Kundan Lal Thapar, of Mohalla Naughara, Ludhiana was born in 1879. He was educated up to the entrance standard at the D.A.V. School, Lahore. Later he joined the Central Hindu College, Banaras from where he graduated. After that he joined government service but left it soon. He went to America in 1905, financed by Mahatma Munshi Ram. He spent a year each at the Universities of Chicago and Oregon, studying Political Science and Economics, and then visited Seattle, Washington and other centres. During his stay in America he contributed articles to various journals and lectured and collected money for "his downtrodden country." He made the acquaintance of E.H. James, a friend of Bhai Parmanand who was editor of the *Socialist Liberator*. On his way back to India, in June 1911, he passed through Paris, where he met the leading Indian revolutionaries.

On his return to India, he settled at Lahore. Here he became a member of the Wachhowali Arya Samaj. But he had to leave Lahore on being appointed headmaster of the D.A.V. School at Dehra Dun. He left the service after some time and joined Amar Nath Parashar to set up the 'Foreign Educational Association at Calcutta, which advertised for 500 youths to go to America.' In April 1912 he started a private school at Almora and was subsequently employed in a *gurukula* at Sikandarabad. Towards the end of the year 1913 he started a

course of lectures in the Punjab and the United Provinces in which he compared the educational systems of America and India, advocated the adoption of Hindi as a common language and described the debased condition of the coloured races all over the world. His sympathies with the Turks in connection with the Balkan War lost him support among some Aryas. From 1913 to 1918 he made frantic lecture tours throughout U.P., C.P., Bihar, Delhi, Punjab, Haryana etc. preaching through the medium of religion the most stirring message of *swadeshi* and *swarajya*.

Description: Height about 5 feet 6 inches; very stout; wheatish complexion; small mouth; double chin; clean shaven; wears coloured spectacles; remarkable eyes with overhanging lids; dresses like a Sadhu in saffron coloured clothes.

SEHGAL, JAGAN NATH

Jagan Nath,[94] son of Bhag Mal Sehgal of Lahore, was born in 1890. His family being Arya Samajist, he was sent to the D.A.V. College where he studied until 1911 when he was implicated with his brother Kedar Nath, in a serious offence under the Arms Act and the Press Act. He was arrested but the local government decided not to prosecute him. But after this he could not continue his education and returned home in November 1914.

He was suspected of being engaged with his brother in a conspiracy to introduce bombs into the Punjab from Bengal. In February 1915 he wrote a threatening anonymous letter to the Viceroy, but sufficient evidence was not forthcoming for a prosecution. When his brother Kedar Nath was under arrest in connection with the returned emigrant movement, he plotted to free him. This became known to the government which, to render him innocuous, passed orders under the Defence of India Rules restricting him to Pakhi Mian, district Multan. There he resided with his brother, whose movements were also restricted. Both Kedar Nath and Jagan Nath, says a police report, 'are dangerous characters, violently anti-British and steeped in sedition from boyhood.'

Description: Height about 5 feet 5 inches; wheatish complexion; long face; broad forehead; inclined towards stoutness.

SEHGAL, KEDAR NATH

Kedar Nath,[95] son of Bhag Mal of Lahore, was born in 1882. He was an Arya Samajist and had his education at the D.A.V. School. In 1907 he became an associate of Ajit Singh and was implicated in the Lahore riots of that year. Says an intelligence report about him:

> He has always been an extremist, has no particular work, and is generally to be found with some members of Ajit Singh's gang. Said to have been a member of the Shanti Sabha, Rawalpindi, and to have formed a society in 1911 to assassinate the King-Emperor during the Delhi Durbar. On a search of his house being made, a revolver, a knife and a printing press with type-set for a seditious Yugantar leaflet were discovered. On finding all this, he and his brother, Jagan Nath were arrested, but in consideration of their youth the Local Government did not prosecute.

For some time after this, Kedar Nath remained quiet, but in 1914 he was associated with Lal Chand Falak in the management of the *Bijli*. He also interested himself in the Rikabganj Gurudwara agitation and later joined the Sikh party which engaged in violent demonstrations against Government after the Budge Budge affair. He was also suspected with his brother of being engaged in a conspiracy in conjunction with the Bengal extremists to bring up bombs and revolvers to the Punjab with the object of initiating a campaign of assassination in the province. In the early part of 1915 it was found that Kedar Nath was intimately connected with the revolutionary propaganda of returned emigrants. He was sent for trial in the Lahore Conspiracy case, but acquitted. On release, he was rearrested and restricted under the Defence of India Rules to Pakhi Mian in the Multan District where he stayed until 1918.

Description: Height 5 feet 7 inches; wheatish complexion; slim built; large bulging eyes; sharp nose; hair cut short and beards shaved; hair streaked with white wears.

SHANTI NARAYAN, MAHASHA

Shanti Narayan,[96] son of Manohar Das, Kayastha of Shami, Muzaffar Nagar district, United Provinces, was born in 1877. He belonged to an Arya Samajist family. He was educated at Karnal and Simla, where he obtained clerical employment, which he gave up in 1906 to become sub-editor of the *Hindustan*. In 1907, he delivered 'several seditious speeches during the agitation of that year.' In September 1907 he went to Allahabad to start the publication of the *Swarajya*, and 'during his stay there he associated with political agitators and extremists.' In June 1908, he was arrested on a charge of publishing seditious articles and sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment under Section 124-A, I.P.C. On his release, in September 1911, he joined the editorial staff of the *Hindu*. He was subsequently on the staff of the *Desh*, but again found himself out of employment after a few months. He, then, took to free lance journalism. He was a powerful writer and wrote on nationalist themes.

Description: Medium height; stout; sallow complexion; oval pock-marked face; wears spectacles.

SHIV DEO SINGH

Shiv Deo Singh,[97] son of Khushal Singh Ahluwalia of Sialkot, was born in 1890. He was educated at Sialkot, Rawalpindi and in the state College, Jammu. He was a staunch Arya Samajist. He associated himself with Satya Dev, left India for America, in 1912 on Guru Gobind Singh Scholarship. In America, he studied at Berkeley, where he was a member of the Punjab House. He became a follower of Har Dayal and one of his four official Ghadr agents. He attended the dinner given by Har Dayal on 25th December 1912 in honour of the Delhi Bomb Outrage. He was mentioned in a letter to Ajit Singh as 'a most energetic worker of the staff of the *Ghadr* paper.' He was sent to Germany for Ghadr purposes by Ram Chandra together with Kedar Nath during the WWI. He worked for Indian freedom all through his life.

SHYAMAJI KRISHNAVERMA

Shyamaji Krishnaverma[98] was born at Mandavi, in the erstwhile state of Kutch, in a Brahmana family on 4 October 1857. His father, Krishnaverma Bhansali was a poor man who could not afford to give good education to his otherwise sapient child. Shyamaji, therefore, went to an ordinary primary school at Mandavi, and later to a high school at Bhuj. A rich Bhatia family friend took the boy to Bombay and got him admitted to the Wilson High School where Shyamaji did very well. Shyamaji had a great aptitude for and interest in Sanskrit which he studied privately. As a result, he secured Gokuldas Kahandas Prize in Sanskrit in his High School in 1875. Later he joined the Elphinstone High School. In this very year, Shyamaji was married to Bhanumati, daughter of a rich merchant of Bombay.

Incidentally, Shyamaji was in Bombay when Swami Dayananda founded the Arya Samaj there. The new society and its founder appealed to Shyamaji a great deal. He became his disciple and 'agreed to carry on propaganda for the cause of the Arya Samaj.'

Shyamaji started his tour in 1877. He delivered his lectures in Sanskrit wherever he went. He was a great success at Nasik, Poona, Ahmedabad, Baroda, Broach, Surat, Bhuj, Mandavi and Lahore (1877-1878). He attracted the attention of the people and his fame reached far and wide.

He was introduced to the great Sanskritist Professor Monier Williams of England and went to England in April 1879. There he joined the Balliol College, Oxford. He also went to the Inner Temple for studies in Law. He worked very hard and secured B.A. degree from Oxford in 1883.

On his return to India, Shyamaji was appointed a *Diwan* at Ratalam. In 1888 he resigned his post owing to 'ill health' and started legal practice at Ajmer (1888). He also worked for the local Arya Samaj. Unfortunately, he quarrelled with the local Samaj people and left Ajmer to join as a member of the State Council at Udaipur (Rajasthan). In 1895 he shifted to Junagadh as Divan of the state. But he had to leave this service soon,

owing to a conspiracy hatched by a British Officer in league with some local officials.

The Junagadh incident shook him, for his dismissal did not cost him his job alone but he lost his reputation also which he had built up with great pains. He tried and got the old job at Udaipur but there, too, the British agent stood in his way. Meantime there came the arrest of Tilak and Natu brothers. Dayananda's teachings which he still remembered stirred him and he decided to fight the British lion in its den itself. He left for London in 1897.

In 1899, the Britain 'declared War on Transvaal when gold was discovered in that state.' Shyamaji immediately supported the Boers' fight against the British. He jumped into active politics. In January 1905 he published his first English monthly, *The Indian Sociologist*, as an "organ of freedom and of political, social and religious reforms." He used Spencer's words as his motto: "Resistance to aggression is not simply justifiable but imperative."

Shyamaji created a stir through his inspiring write-ups in Indian as well as in British circles.

In February 1905 Shyamaji added yet another feather to his cap. He started the Indian Home Rule Society 'for securing for India a government of the people, by the people and for the people. On 1 July 1906 he opened the India House in London where Indians, especially students, could come and stay without being followed by the intelligence agents.

A band of dedicated youngmen like Senapati Bapat, Vinayaka Savarkar, etc came to him and started living at the 'India House'. He also strengthened his tie with India through Tilak whose admirer he was. When in the 1906 session of the Congress Tilak was not elected, he held Dadabhai responsible for this. He criticised Dadabhai as a leader "facing both ways", as 'he did not support any radical policy.'

After Surat split (1907) when the Government stepped up repression, Shyamaji exhorted the people 'to adopt the policy of non-cooperation and strike on peaceful lines.' He affirmed 'the right of a subject people to adopt an armed struggle to overthrow an oppressive Government.' About this time (June 1907), Shyamaji felt the police noose very close on him and he left London for Paris where he lived until 1914 when he left

for Geneva from where he continued his struggle against the British government until his death, 31 March 1930.

SHYAM SUNDAR LAL

Shyam Sundar Lal,[99] was a prominent Arya Samajist of Moradabad. He had done more than anyone else for the Arya Samaj in Moradabad and since the earliest days his house was at its disposal for meetings.

He took a keen interest in politics, too. Besides advocating *swadeshi* he also exhorted people 'to go for extreme type of work.' His house was searched and he was convicted for keeping revolutionary books. He died in 1909.

SUNDAR LAL, ALIAS SOMESHWARANAND

Sundar Lal,[100] son of Tota Ram, a Kayasth of village Kafhauli, district Muzaffarnagar (UP) was born in 1885. He received his early education at his village school. Later he joined the D.A.V. College at Lahore. There he received the attention of Lajpat Rai, who assisted him financially.

He worked for Arya Samaj movement and 'became the political disciple of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh.' In 1906, he joined the Allahabad University but was expelled the next year because of his 'open advocacy of the nationalist cause.' He took to political work more fully than ever with the extremist movement and became an active promoter of political meetings in Bengal and the United Provinces.

In 1908, he toured the United Provinces as one of Lajpat Rai's famine agents. Subsequently, he took to journalism in Allahabad and produced two extreme political organs, the *Karmayogi* and the Hindi *Prudip*. In April 1910, heavy security was demanded from Sundar Lal in respect of both these papers, with the result that both ceased to run. The investigation of the Delhi Conspiracy Case revealed, says an intelligence report, 'that he had been conspiring with Har Dayal, Amir Chand, etc, in the early days of the conspiracy.' He was let off, however, for want of proper evidence.[101]

Description : Height 5 feet 6 inches: slight built; fair complexion; round face; small moustache; no beard; upper teeth

partially decayed; largish eyes; ordinarily wears pagri, dhoti and kurta; sometimes dresses as a Sanyasi.

TULSI RAM, SWAMI

Swami Tulsi Ram,[102] was the head preacher of Arya Samaj in U.P. in 1890s. He did his work with great zeal and enthusiasm. He talked a lot of politics during the course of his lectures. An ardent preacher of *swadeshi*, he created political consciousness among the masses by his inspiring lectures.

TUNDA, MANGAL SINGH

Mangal Singh,[103] son of Sahib Sain of Jalalpur, district Jhelum was born in the year 1877. He was an Arya Samajist who took a great part in the political agitation of 1907. He was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in connection with the riots in Rawalpindi in 1907, but was released at the coronation. He was 'violently anti-British'. He was, says a police report, 'in Lahore at the time of the bomb outrage, staying with the agitator Kishan Singh.' He carried on nationalist propaganda all through his life.

Description : Height about 5 feet 6 inches; wheatish complexion; long face; short beard; long nose; a mole under left eye; has lost the use of his left hand.

VERMA, SHAM DAS

Sham Das,[104] son of Mathura Das, a Khatri of Haslanwala village, Pahrianwali police station, Gujrat district, was born in 1980. He was educated up to the middle standard at the Gujrat Mission School. In 1909, he found employment on the staff of the *Sahayak* of Lahore. He was an Arya Samajist 'with advanced views.' The same year he became printer and publisher of the *Swarajya* of Allahabad, but he went to Pondicherry and met the revolutionaries residing there. About the middle of 1912, he visited Kashmir with Kishan Singh, Pindi Das and Kedar Nath Sehgal to organize revolutionary activities with the help of some foreign powers.

In August 1915, he was implicated in the Banaras Conspiracy case. There was also evidence to show that 'he had a hand in

the revolutionary movement in the Punjab but evidence of identity was not forthcoming, and it was found impossible to prosecute him in either case.' As a precautionary measure, however, he was restricted to his village in November 1915, under the Defence of India Rules, and he was bound down for three years under Section 110 C.P.C. He was released from restriction on the termination of the War.

VERMA, HIRA LAL

Very little is known about Hira Lal Verma.[105] According to an intelligence report, he was very active in U.P. from 1906 onwards. He came to notice of the government when "going about at Hardwar this year, tried to spread seditious views among the pilgrims." He was apprehended, tried and 'convicted' for 'spreading disaffection.'

VERMA, HOTI LAL

Hoti Lal,[106] was born in a poor Jat family of Angai, a small village in district Mathura (UP). His parents died when he was just a small child. He was brought up by Kanwar Hukam Singh, a well-known Zamindar of the village, who was a staunch Arya Samajist and a nationalist of the 'extremist mould.' He had established an institution called 'Vedic Ashrama' at Aligarh where revolutionaries used to stay and plan their activities.

After finishing his education, Hoti Lal took to journalism and remained on the staff of *Amrita Bazar Patrika* for some time. Later he shifted to Allahabad and became editor of the famous nationalist paper *Swarajya* and U.P. correspondent of the equally famous nationalist paper *Bande Matram* of Calcutta.

Besides his journalistic assignment, he also worked for Arya Samaj and revolutionary movement in U.P., and formed links with his counterparts in Punjab, Bengal and Bombay. He was a friend of Tilak. He also travelled to foreign countries—England, France, China, Japan etc. when he worked 'in close collaboration with Savarkar, Shyamaji Krishnaverma and Madame Cama.'

After some time he shifted to Punjab. He was instrumental

in creating a coterie of revolutionayies in the 10th Jat when it was stationed in Calcutta. But for timely detection these revolutionary soldiers would have finished off the Viceroy and Commander-in-chief of the Indian Army and high ranking British officials in Calcutta on 25 December 1909.

The government came to know of Hoti Lal's activities in 1908 and arrested him. He was tried for revolutionary crimes and awarded stringent punishment—transportation to the Andamans for seven years on 28 July 1908. On appeal, the sentence was reduced to five years. He was the first Arya activist to have suffered transportation to the Andamans.

References

1. The account is for the most part based on the C.I.D. File No. 331-5 vide *The Punjab Political Who's Who* (hereafter abbreviated as *PPWW*), 1927, pp. 15-16; also see *Buried Alive: Autobiography, Speeches and Writings of Ajit Singh, op. cit.*
2. For details see K.C. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-39.
3. C.I D. File Nos. 5985 & 8087-S.B., vide *PPWW*, p. 40.
4. P.N. Bali, *The History of the Mohyals*, pp. 180-81; K.C. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-39.
5. C.I.D. File No. 7824-5B, vide *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.
6. C.I.D. File Nos, 524 & 5985-S.B., and 1081 P.B., vide *Ibid*, pp. 26-27.
7. Sumnesh Joshi, *Rajasthan Men Swatantrata Sangrama Ke Senani*, pp-13-20; *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. I.
8. *History of Freedom Movement in India*, vol. II, p. 313; K.C. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-92.
9. Sumnesh Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-40.
10. *Who's Who of Revolutionaries in the Punjab* (hereafter *WWRP*), 1917, p. 50.
11. C.I.D. File Nos. 1500 and 5985—S.B., *vide Ibid*, pp. 28-30.
12. Fauja Singh, *Eminent Freedom Fighters of Punjab*, p. 73 (Dates of his arrest and trial are wrong in the book).
13. C.I.D. File Nos. 5985, & 7105 S.B., *vide WWRP*, pp. 32-33.
14. C.E.W. Sands, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.
15. C.I.D. File No. 16294 S.B., *vide Ibid.*, pp. (ad.) 1-2.
16. C.I.D. Files Nos. 5985 & 9518-S.B., *vide Ibid.*, pp. 3536.
17. The account is based on Lajpat Rai, *Autobiographical Writings*, pp. 36-38.
18. C.I.D. File Nos. 5131 & 5985-S.B. *vide Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.
19. *WWRP*, pp. 100-1.
20. *Vide Ibid.*, pp. 105-6.

21. C.I.D. File Nos. 8066 & 8206-S.B., *vide WWRP*, pp. 37-39.
22. *Vide WWRP*, p. 62.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
24. C.I.D. File No. 5935 & 9536-S.B., *WWRP*, pp. 41-42.
25. Based on *WWRP*, p, 78.
26. C.I.D. File No. 8416-S.B., *vide WWRP*, p. 42.
27. C.I.D. File Nos. 298 & 5985-S.B., *vide Ibid.*, p. 44.
28. C.I.D. File Nos. 785 of 1912, 4563 & 5985 S.B., *vide Ibid.*, p. 43. Also see *WWRP*, pp. 119-20.
29. *Vide WWRP*, p. 81.
30. C.I.D. File Nos. 5985 and 6100-S.B., *vide WWRP*, p. 45.
31. K.C. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-43.
32. C.I.D. File Nos. 5985 & 8205 S.B., *vide Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.
33. C.I.D. File No. 4346-S.B., *vide Ibid*, p. 58.
34. C.I.D. File Nos. 5213 & 5985-S.B., *vide Ibid.*, p. 53.
35. C.I.D File Nos. 5985 & 7202-S.B., *vide Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.
36. *WWRP*, pp. 51-52. Also see C.I.D. File No. 5985-S.B. *vide WWRP*, p. 60.
37. Sumnesh Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 1-7; Zahur Khan, 'Bhil Andolana', *Journal of Gahlot Institute*, vol. I, Nos. 5-6 (1985-86), pp. 117-127.
38. C.I.D. File Nos. 4968 & 5985-S.B., *vide WWRP*, pp. 162-63.
39. C.E.W. Sands, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.
40. C.I.D. File Nos. 8074 & 10106-S.B.. *vide Ibid.*, p. 69.
41. C.I.D. File Nos 5985 & 6574, *vide Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.
42. See Emily Brown, *Hardayal : A Hindu Revolutionary and Rationalist.*
43. C.I.D. Files Nos 119 & 5985-S.B., *vide Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.
44. *WWRP*, p. 63.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
46. C.I.D. File No. 420-S.B. *vide WWRP*, p. 84
47. K.C. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-59.
48. C.I.D. File No. 9752-S.B., *vide Ibid.*, Ad 1-2.
49. Nina Puri, *Political Elite and Society in the Punjab*, pp. 44, 69-70.
50. *WWRP*, pp. 44-45.
51. C.I.D. File Nos. 1882 & 5985, *vide WWRP*, p. 97.
52. K.C. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-74.
53. *WWRP*, p. 82.
54. C.I.D. File No. 4906-S.B., *vide WWRP*, pp. 95-96.
55. C.I.D. File No. 5616-S.B., *vide Ibid.*, p. 90.
56. C.I.D. File Nos. 4220 & 5985-S.B., *vide Ibid.*, p. 99.
57. *Vide WWRP*, p. 135.
58. C.I.D. File No. 3544-S.B., *vide WWRP*, pp. 103-4.
59. C.I.D. File Nos. 425, 139-S.B., 2923 P.B., *vide Ibid.*, p. 100.
60. C.I.D. File Nos. 4702 & 5985-S.B., *vide Ibid.*, pp. 104-5.
61. *WWRP*, pp. 110-11.
62. C.I.D. File No. 372-S.B., *vide Ibid.*, pp. 106-8.
63. C.I.D. File Nos. 2927 & 4274 & 4393-S.B., *vide Ibid*, pp. 167-68,
64. C.E.W. Sands, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

65. C.I.D. File Nos. 5985 & 6362-S.B., *vide Ibid.*, pp. 111-12.
66. C.I.D. File Nos. 1344, 5985-S.B., *vide Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.
67. *PPWW*, p. 1.
68. C.I.D. File No. 375-S.B., *vide WWRP*, pp. 134-35.
69. *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. II.
70. Shraddhananda, *Inside Congress*, p. 20.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 33-34.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
76. For details see K.C. Yadav, *The Builders of Our Nation*, vol I: *Murlidhar, op. cit.*
77. C.I.D. File No. 10043-S.B., *vide Ibid*, pp. 40-41.
78. C.I.D. Files Nos. 133 & 5985-S.B., *vide Ibid.*, pp. 136-37.
79. C.I.D. File Nos. 3689 and 5985-S.B., *vide Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.
80. *PPWR*, p. 15.
81. C.I.D. File Nos. 7041-S.B,, *vide WWRP*, pp. 146-47.
82. Parmanand, *The Story of My Life*, *op. cit.* Also see C.I.D. File Nos. 35 & 528-S.B., *vide Ibid.*, pp. 147-48.
83. Fauja Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-25.
84. C.I.D. File Nos. 25 and 5985-S.B., *vide Ibid.*, pp. 153-54.
85. *Vide WWRP*, p. 46.
86. C.E.W. Sands, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
87. *Ibid.*
88. C.I.D. Files Nos. 2288, 5985-S.B., *vide WWPP*, pp. 155-56.
89. C.E.W. Sands, *op. cit.*, pp. 45.
90. C.I.D. File No. 5985-S.B., *vide Ibid.*, pp. 166-67.
91. C.I.D. File Nos. 5101, 5985-S.B., *vide Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.
92. For details see Satyaketu Vidyalankara, *Arya Samaj Ka Itihas*, vol. III, pp. 208-12.
93. C.I.D. File No. 537-S.B., *vide Ibid.*, pp. 186-87.
94. Vide *WWRP*, p. 87.
95. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.
96. C.I.D. File Nos. 1890, & 5985-S.B., *vide WWRP*, pp. 198-99.
97. *Ibid.*
98. See Indulal Yajnik, *Shyamaji Krishnaverma, op. cit.*
99. C.E.W. Sands, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
100. *WWRP*, pp. 130-31.
101. J.S. Deol, *Shaheed Bhagat Singh.*
102. C.E.W. Sands, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-69.
103. *Vide WWRP*, p. 57.
104. C.I.D. Files No. 568 of 1909, 1526 & 5985-S.B., *vide WWRP*, pp. 190-191.
105. C.E.W. Sands, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
106. Ayodha Singh, *Bharat Ka Muktisangrama*, pp. 250-51; A.C. Guha, *First Spark of Revolution*, pp. 307-8.

PART THREE

Appendices

APPENDIX 1

NO TITLES FOR ARYA SAMAJISTS*

Extract of a note by the Secretary on the file regarding the grant of titles to native gentlemen on the 1st January 1904.

x x x x x

Cases 40 and 113 deserve special notice. Are we always to treat persons concerned in one of the social movements in progress as tabu qua honorary distinctions. The Anti-Kine killing propaganda may cause trouble, but I am not at all sure that the Arya Samaj is a movement to be discouraged. At any rate most of our best and ablest Hindu officials in Upper India are Arya Samajists and, though some politicians may have joined the movement, its real object is, I believe, to reform the grosser abuses of Hinduism and, if so, we ought rather to sympathise with the reformers. The question might be considered in the Home Department.

x x x x x

Sd/-L. Dane,
17-12-1903.

Will the Home Department favour us with their opinion on the point raised by Secretary?

Sd/-V. Gabriel, 11-2-1904.
Sd/-C.H. Hill, 12-2-1904.

Home Dept. U.O. No. 367-I/A., dated 13-2-1904.
Home Dept. U.O. R.No. 334, recvd. 15-2-1904.

A description of the Arya Samaj will be found in the Census Reports of the U.P. (pages 82-92) and the Punjab (pages 115-

*Home Dept., Public, Deposit, No 13, July 1904.
Confidential

116). "The Arya Samaj as a political instutition" is described in para: 88 of the former report. Attention is also invited to the passages marked in the precés of a report submitted in September 1895 by a Brahman Agent of the Bombay S.B. which shows the position of the Arya Samaj in respect of the Cow protection movement.[1]

Sd/-G.K.R. 16/2.

The T.&.D. Dept. may have some remarks to make.

Sd/-C.C.S. 17/2.

Sd/-W. S. Marris, 17-2-1904.

Secy :

I reserve my opinion until the T.& D. have noted.

Sd/-H.H. Risley, 19-2-1904.

T. and D.

Home Dept. U.O. No. 182, dated 20-2-'04

Secy :

I much regret the delay in answering this reference but it has been caused by our records being in Simla and my having to get the Head Clerk of the General Branch of the T. & D. Dept. (who is unfamiliar with our C.S.B. records) to search for them.

The papers I required—C.S.B. Proceedings No. 47 of 1897-have now been received. It will be seen that the question raised by Mr. Dane was fully gone into in 1896-97.

In Nov. 1896[2] Col. King Harman, Dy. Secy, to the Mily. Dept. wrote a note on the Arya Samaj, in which he dwelt on the dangerous tendency of its teaching and political aims with reference to the N. Army.

Sir E. Collen the Hon'ble Member, Mily. Dept. asked me to record my observations on Col. King Harman's reference and my note will be found at pp. 11-20 with Appendix pp. 21-24.

The case was then noted on in the Mily. Adjt. Genl.'s., Home and Foreign Departments—pp. 25 to 34 and finally submitted to H.E. the Viceroy—Lord Elgin-who concluded the discussion with his note of 27-4-97, pp. 34-36.

1. Pub. B. Septr.'96. 274-77.
2. T.& D. Dept. Progs. No. 47 of 1897 pages 1-9.

With reference to H.E's concluding remarks—Mr. C.S. Byaley, who had meanwhile succeeded to the Genl. Supdtship of the T.& D. Dept., submitted a further note—see pages 51 to end of the file—and after considering the arguments and facts set forth in vindication of the position of the Dept. with regard to the Arya Samaj, Lord Elgin was pleased to record his second note of the 26-10-97, copy of which is given at pages 36-37 of the notes. H.E's. final opinion is :— "It is clear that the leaders in Arya Samaj to a large extent consist of men who are discontented with the present state of things."

The papers relating to the Arya Samaj in the Punjab to which H.E. refers are those recorded at page 181 to end. Mr. Dane's letter of the 15th September 1897 forwarding them to the Private Secy : to the Viceroy says :—

"Sir M. Young has read the note and extracts and "desires me to say that he thinks that these establish the political activity of the Arya Samaj in the Punjab and its hostility to Government as well as its bitter feeling against Muhammadans etc., etc.,".

On page 187 of the file (page 2 of the printed Punjab S.B. note) a note by a former Lt. Governor, Sir Denis Fitzpatrick, is quoted in which H.H., writing in regard to the Dayanand Anglo-Vedik College at Lahore, said he suspected the tendency to be "Agni the Govt." was much fostered there.

In Septr. 1896 the Chief Secy. to the Punjab Govt. replying to a letter from the Genl. Supdt. T. & D. Dept. regarding the spread of religious revival among certain Hindu societies, wrote[3] : . . . "the only society that appears to H.H. really important from a political point of view is the Arya Samaj and Sir Denis Fitzpatrick believes, notwithstanding the schism in it, that its importance is increasing."

The letter at S. No. 12 of the same file states the position of the Society in the N.W. Provces. (now the United provinces) in 1896 and mentions that it was not considered to be of any great political importance at that time.

To the letter at S.N. 15 of the same file is attached a note on the Society as it existed in the Central provinces in 1896 which shows it was in backward state.

3. T.& D. Dept. Progs. No. 114 of 1899-page 232.

A summary of the reports relating to the Arya Samaj has been regularly entered every month in the C.S.B. Abstracts and may be consulted for details but after the attention drawn to the subject in 1896-1897 through the Adjutant-General's Dept., the men in Native regiments would appear to have gradually dropped their connection with the Society.

In Dec. 1897[4] the Punjab S.B. brought to notice that Lala Lajpat Rai, Pleader Chief Court, Lahore, a prominent member of the guest calling section of the Lahore Arya Samaj had written and published in Urdu lives of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Sivaji—being Nos. 1 to 3 of C series of "The lives of the great men of the world." In forwarding translations, the Punjab S.B. wrote:— "The Lieutt. Governor "wishes to emphasize that the books are written by an Arya Samaj Leader, for boys and that the motive is purely political and to H.H's. mind the object is to propagate sedition". "The works, especially the lives of Mazzini and Sivaji dwell largely on the evils of a foreign yoke and the desirability of attaining national freedom at any sacrifice. Whatever the intention of the author may have been, the books are of a class which it is very undesirable to put into the hands of schoolboys, especially when as must often be the case, the teachers are persons of the class described by Sir Denis Fitzpatrick in his[5] note on the Arya Samaj written on the 18th August 1895."

At a meeting of the Ludhiana Arya Samaj on the 28th November 1897, Umrao Singh, the Secretary, referring to the subject of kine-slaughter said that something might be achieved if the Sikhs bestirred themselves. At one time their Purbiya brothers showed the stuff they were made of and, had it not been for the assistance rendered by Hindu Rajas, the English would certainly have had to return to England!

In September 1899[6] Ram Bhaj Dutt, Pleader of Amritsar and Munshi Ram, Pleader of Jullundur addressed a meeting

4. See Progs. of the Arya Samaj for Dec. 1897. Para. 69 of C.S.B. Abstract Vol. XII. 1898.
5. T. & D. Progs. No. 47 of 1897.
6. See Progs. of the Arya Samaj for Aug. and Sept. 1899. Para. 996 (xi) of C.S.B. Abstract Vol. XIII. 1899.

of the Arya Samaj at Wazirabad in the Gujranwala District in support of the proposed establishment of a *Gurukula* School. They spoke against the Government and gave instances of ill-treatment on the part of Government towards Native Officials and people. They also said that Native Officials in carrying out the orders for Government were frequently obliged to do things prohibited by their religion. For instance Hindu Tehsildars were obliged to provide beef for troops on the march. They further said that sepoys were foolish enough to enlist on Rs. 7 and Rs. 8 a month simply to be killed; they would not do this when they had been carefully instructed in the *Gurukula*!

In the *Sanatan Dharm Gazette* for September[7] 1900 the Editor complains of the impunity enjoyed by the Arya Samajists who habitually wound the feelings of crores of Hindus and Muhammadans and hints that the authorities are afraid of the powerful organisation of the Arya Samaj.

Referring[8] to the operations of the Frontier Crimes Regulation No. III of 1901, the Dy. Commr. Hazara, wrote:— "The principal changes are the "increase of punishment which can now be awarded, the power now vested in the Commr. to enhance punishment and the liability of persons disseminating sedition to be expelled from Frontier districts. The last is an excellent provision and if the Arya Samaj continue to teach from seditious books such as the *Satyarth Parkash* in their school at Abbottabad, can be legitimately enforced against them."

The book in question was the joint production of Dayanand, the founder of the Arya Samaj and Pandit Lekh Ram, who was murdered at Lahore in 1896.

In May 1902[9] Vishnu Dutt Sharma an itinerant Arya Samaj lecturer of Benares, visited Ding in the Raipur district of the Central Provinces and in the course of an address in which he urged all Hindus to unite he cited the examples of the Boers banding together and fighting a powerful country like England

7. See Progs. of the Arya Samaj for Oct. 1900 para. 1968 (VI) of C.S.B. Abstract Vol. XIV for 1900.
8. Para 1405 C.S.B. Abstract Vol. XV for 1901.
9. Progs. of the Arya Samaj for May 1902. Para. 509 (V) Vol. XVI of C.S.B. Abstracts 1901.

and said, if only Hindus would work together and be of one mind they would be able to make their views felt and compel the Government to listen to their grievances. I am afraid these extracts are already too long, but I cite them as examples to show what I believe to be true that the majority of those who control this important society are not well-disposed towards the Government.

(Sd) D.McCracken, 14-3-'04.

Home Department.

Secretary, Home Deptt.

I submit these two titles[10] files (obtained from the Foreign Department) for your perusal, as the notes bear on the question raised by Mr. Dane, with reference to the Arya Samaj. Sir M. Durand held that it does'nt pay in India to honour the opposition and that is the line that has generally been followed since.

(Sd) D.McCracken, 15-3-'04.

Submitted.
Sd/— G.K.R. 15/3.
Sd/— C.C.S. 15/3,

(Sd) W.S. Marris, 15/3.

Secy.
Will Gen: Supdt: kindly speak.

(Sd) H.H. Risley, 15/3.

H.D. U.O. No. 274, D/- 15-3-'04.

I don't understand exactly what issue the Home Department is asked to pronounce upon at the present stage. Foreign Department should see the papers again.

(Sd) H.H. Risley, 17-3-'04.

H.D. U.O. No. 282, D/-17-3-'04.

10. Foreign Dept. Progs, I.B. July 1898. 193/99. Foreign Dept. Progs. I.B. July 1894. 154/59.

I believe Secretary intended to protest against the idea that being a member of the Arya Samaj of necessity barred the bestowal of recognition at the hands of Government. The remark arose from the fact that in reply to the usual reference to S.B. in regard to a man recommended for a title, the report was simply "belongs to the Arya Samaj."

What Mr. McCracken writes shows that the sect does go in for a certain amount of political agitation; but the moral to be drawn is rather, I think, that the fact of a man belonging to the sect, which it should be an a priori reason for enquiry, should not be conclusive against him.

(Sd) C.H. Hill, 17-3-'04.

Secy.

Yes I wish to have the opinion of Home Deptt. if membership of the Arya Samaj is to be considered per se as a bar to the conferment of a title on the person concerned.

(Sd) L. Dane, 17-3-'04.

Home Dept. U.O. No. 686-I/A., D/- 18-3-'04.

I am not qualified to speak with authority on the subject of the Arya Samaj, but the impression which I have formed from enquiries made during the Census and from the Census Reports is that the movement is primarily a religious and social one and that it is only political in the sense that many of its members are also politicians and that in the event of any political agitation being started the organisation of the Samaj would be utilised by the agitators if they were influential members of the sect. To this extent any religious movement that is started by English educated men is bound to be political. Both the Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj were started by men of this type and both have been greatly influenced by Western thought. The Arya Samaj in particular attempt to prove that the germs of modern scientific discoveries, such as electricity, are to be found in the Veda and they seem to be trying to base a Hindu revival on arguments of this kind, so that instead of copying Western ideas they re-discover them in the Veda and thereby demonstrate their own equality with Europeans. But I do not think that

either Samaj can fairly be described as a political organisation and I cannot see why an Arya as such should be regarded as ineligible for a title. On the social side the influence of the Arya Samaj is good. They promote education, they are opposed to child marriage, holding that girls should not be married before 13, (preferably 14 to 16) and boys not before 18; they discourage wasteful expenditure at weddings, and they are attempting to combat caste exclusiveness in the matter of marriage and of food. Mr. Burn's report gives a good account of the Aryas, Mr. Rose's a very poor one. He held that the movement was mainly political; I disagreed with him and suggested that he should prove his point in his report.

(Sd) H.H. Risley, 21-3-'04.

H.M.

I agree with what Secretary says about the social aims of the Samaj being good. But I know it in the Punjab, where it mainly, if not almost entirely, consists of the "cultured" party, which is, I believe, less strongly represented in other provinces. And then I regard it as, at any rate potentially, a most dangerous political organisation. They have deliberately set themselves to capture the teachers of the province; and have to a great extent succeeded. An enquiry towards the end of the eighties showed that a very large majority of the men under training in the Lahore Training College were Aryas. The facilities thus acquired for their propaganda are obvious. The pleader element is exceedingly strong, and I think the Arya as a rule is, in the Punjab, against the Government. They have used the kine-killing question as a means of obtaining influence over Hindus in general, with very considerable success.

I can't give chapter and verse for what I say; but my belief is strong, that the Arya Samaj in the Punjab contains great potentialities for political changes. I don't for a moment say

that there are no loyal Aryas. But I think the fact that a man is a leading Arya ruins a presumption against his loyalty.

(Sd) D.I. 22-3-'04.

Foreign Department.
H.D. U.O. No. 148 dated 23-3-'04.

Then for Secretary's purpose we may make it the rule to make special enquiries in the case of any one who is an Arya Samajist and who is recommended for distinction from Government.

(Sd) C.H. Hill, 23-3-'04.

Yes when C.S.B. note on men under consideration for titles will they kindly say if he is a political Arya or not.

(Sd) L. Dane, 24-3-'04.

Now to Special Branch to note and remove their papers.
Sd/- C.E.P. 24/3.

(Sd) V. Gabriel, 26-3-'04.

Special Branch 28-3-'04.

Seen and noted. We have always endeavoured to discriminate in each particular case. I have removed our papers and shall be much obliged if I may be supplied with a copy of these notes for record in the C.S.B.

(Sd) D. McCracken, 8-4-'04.

Foreign Department
C.S.B. U.O. No. 926, dated 8-4-'04.

(Sd) V. Gabriel, 9-4-'04.

(True Copy.)

Superintendent, Foreign Department.
The Home Department.

APPENDIX 2

ARYA SAMAJ: 'A POLITICAL SOCIETY MORE DANGEROUS THAN CONGRESS' —THE CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE[1]

Sir,—If any man have an ear, let him hear. In both the native and Anglo-Indian papers of the last few weeks I have noticed a remarkable change in the political position of the members of the Arya Samaj towards both Government and the personality of Lala Lajpat Rai. Men who favoured or allowed it to be believed that they favoured gospel of ex-communication of outsiders (called foreigners, usurpers and strangers) in the Bharat Mata, men whose principal work was apparently to criticise rightly or wrongly on every occasion the conduct of the Government and its officials through him alone they had won all this prominence after a long period of servitude, men who denounced (or countenanced others who denounced) every loyal and law-abiding class of British Indian subjects as mendicants, flatterers, sycophants and traitors etc.,—these same men have now, after the memorable day of Lala Lajpat Rai's deportation, suddenly claimed to be playing quite another role. They declare that they themselves are loyal and law-abiding, that they disapprove of agitators who stir up ill-will against the Government or provoke disorder, that they have no concern with the recent excesses of political fanatics and that they desire peace and amity.

I am not writing to condemn the views these men lately held or were believed to hold, nor am I going to question the sincerity of the changed views they now profess to hold. It is with a much graver object that I have taken up my pen. I am going to draw attention to presumed fount and source of their political inspirations. In particular I shall indicate those parts

1. *Vide Civil and Military Gazette*, 16 June 1907.

of their religious scriptures which seem to me to bear essentially upon the feelings of Arya Samajists in general towards "outsiders" and "foreigners" in India.

Take the passage of the *Satyarth Prakash* (English translation) by Doctor Charinjiwa Bhardwaja (edition 1906); some of which run thus:—

1. (Page 180) A *Kshatriya* whose knowledge, culture and purity are as perfect as those of a Brahmana should govern the country.

2. (Page 182) Proclaim that man with one voice your king who is just, impartial, well educated, cultured and friend of all. In this way you shall attain universal sovereignty. Be greater than all, manage the affairs of state.

3. (Page 182) The four chief offices—as Commander-in-chief of Forces, Head of the Civil Government, Minister of Justice, and the supreme head of all, the king, should be held by those persons who are well versed in *Vedas* and *Shastras*.

4. (Page 182) Let no man transgress that law which has been passed by an assembly of ten men; this assembly must consist of members who are well versed in the four *vedas*. They must belong to one of the three orders, *i.e.*, *brahmcharya*, *girihastha* and *vanprastha*.

5. (Page 186) Let no man transgress what has been detailed even by an assembly of three men, who are scholars of *Rig-Veda*, *Yajur-Veda*, and *Sama-Veda*.

6. (Page 187) Let no man abide by the law laid down by men, who are altogether ignorant and destitute of the knowledge of the *Vedas*, for whosoever obeys the laws propounded by ignorant fools falls into hundreds of kinds of sins and vices, and therefore let not ignorant fools be ever made the members of the aforesaid three assemblies, political, educational and religious.

7. (Page 198) Having obtained a necessary material and augmented his power, let him put forth his strength like a lion to vanquish his foe; like a tiger let him steadily creep towards his enemy and catch him. But when a powerful enemy has come close by, let him run away from him like a bore and thus overtake him by stratagem.

8. Let him hide his vulnerable points from his enemy, just

as a tortoise draws his limbs and keeps them concealed from view.

9. (Page 211) Let him if occasion arise surround the enemy and detain him, harass his country and cut off his supply of grass, food etc.

10. (Page 56) He is an atheist, and slanderer of the *Vedas*, who disparages their teachings as well as the writings of true teachers in conformity with the *Vedas*. He should be excluded from good society and even expelled out of the country.

This was the gospel of Swami Dayanand. This was the moral force which emboldened that apostle's spirit of liberty of thought and speech and impelled him to criticise fearlessly and mercilessly the religious systems of the Hindus, the Mohammadans, the Christians, the Jains, the Sikhs and a host of minor creeds prevailing in India, until he had sown hatred among the different nations who used to live before that time like brothers under the British banner.

After him sprang up many followers who under the protection of British rule set themselves to apply these scriptural behests with increasing vehemence to political movements.

Lala Lajpat Rai was well versed in the teaching advanced by Swami Dayanand and was always regarded as a foremost leader of the Aryan community. He had political ambitions of a magnitude that few would credit, but he misjudged the force of the agitation which he had contrived to stir among the *Zamindars*, and prematurely jumped like a lion, with the result that he had perforce to welcome a bore as his defenders would now make him out to be. Lala Lajpat Rai, I repeat, was held to be a true Arya and a true follower of Swami Dayanand. He was admired as one who acted upon every word of the Swami's teachings. And as those teachings are of the sort I now indicated by quotations, he being passionate fell a victim to his uncontrolled zealotry.

And now I come in a single sentence to the object of this letter. A path which leads to destruction must be abandoned without hesitation. The path pointed by Swami Dayanand has proved a pit-fall. It must be quitted instantly. This is my most earnest exhortation to those of my fellow countrymen who bave been so misguided as to embark on this peril-strewn course.

The new professions of the Arya Samajists are not consistent with their old principles. It is for them to determine whether the professions or the principles are to be maintained. One of the two must certainly fall. And as for Government I would earnestly beseech them to consider whether they can continue to allow the public mind, and specially the school boy mind of successive academic generations to be poisoned by teachings of this sort, I have in this letter publicly held up to light.

I have heard it argued in ignorance that at the worst the Arya Samaj is only another manifestation of the congress movement. This is I emphatically declare the gravest possible misconception. The congress is purely political, and whatever its faults or its virtues it appeals only to the reason (or what passes for reason). The Arya Samaj on the contrary on its own showing is purely religious and it makes its appeal to the strongest, the stormiest, the most barbaric and uncontrollable element of a man's soul-spiritual passion. It was this spiritual passion, as I have already said, that swept even the clever, calculating, level-headed, foreseeing Lajpat Rai off his feet, that turned him from the comfortable ways of professional success at the bar and social eminence in Hindu civic life into the seething depths of political agitation. *Will the Government allow this momentous warning to pass unheeded*?[2]

An Indian

2. Italics ours.

APPENDIX 3

ARYA SAMAJ: 'ACTIVE SPIRIT BEHIND PANJAB DISTURBANCES', 1907: MINUTE BY SIR DENZIL IBBETSON.[1]

I Regard the present political situation in the Punjab as exceedingly serious, and exceedingly dangerous, and as urgently demanding a remedy.

2. On two occasions within the last ten weeks in connection with the sentences upon the proprietor and editor of *The Panjabee*, Europeans as such have been insulted on the Mall of the Capital of the Province; while, when the accused were first convicted, a demonstration was made in front of the dwelling house of the Chief Magistrate, and another was attempted in front of Government House. It is true that those concerned were for the most part students. But the facts are none the less significant as indicative of the spirit which is abroad.

3. The agitation which immediately led to these results was essentially addressed to the townsfolk. But the present movement has also assumed a far more dangerous form, a definite anti-English propaganda having been started among the villagers, wherever it has appeared to the agitators that an existing grievance has prepared the ground for their operations.

4. In both of these fields, the Extremist party, encouraged by the license which has been allowed to agitators, by the success which has attended their operations elsewhere, and by the impunity which they have enjoyed throughout India, continuously and openly preach sedition, both in print in their newspapers, and by word of mouth at public meetings which are convened by them and which are numerously attended, while the well disposed classes stand aghast at our inaction, and wonder whether the gods wishing to destroy us, have made us

1. *Vide* Home Political—A, Nos 148-235, August 1907.

mad. And their amazement will, before long, inevitably turn into contempt for a Government which can (as they regard the matter) so abnegate its functions as to permit sedition to flourish unrebuked, and for a ruling race who tamely submit to open and organized insult.

5. As regards the newspapers, the Government of India are kept in touch with the native press and are no doubt well aware of what is going on. But a few recent extracts are given in Appendix 1 as samples of what is being periodically circulated among the people of the Province by papers recently started for the purpose. Possibly nothing worse is being written in the Punjab than elsewhere; but, as I shall presently endeavour to show, such writings are far more dangerous in this province than in other parts of India.

6. But I imagine that the Government of India are not so well informed as to the campaign which is being carried on by means of public meetings. It assumes two main forms. The one is prosecuted in the towns, and its nature will be gathered from Appendices A, B, F and G. The first two consist of special police reports of a meeting held by the "Anjuman Mohibban-i-Watan", at the office and under the auspices of a paper called the "Bharat Mata" (the combination of Muhammadan and Hindu names is in itself significant), and of a portion of a lecture delivered at Amritsar, the headquarters of the Sikhs, by the most active of the agitators. The last two are extracts from speeches delivered at Rawalpindi and Ferozepur. Any number of similar instances could be furnished.

7. The other form of the campaign is directed to the corruption of the yeomanry who inhabit the villages of the Province, and is a still more serious matter. For this latter campaign, the agitators have chosen two main fields of operation. The first is the Chenab Canal Colony in the Lyallpur district. Here the Government has, by large expenditure of capital, introduced canal irrigation into the extensive Crown wastes of one of the doabs of the Western Punjab. It has colonized them by picked cultivators chosen from the most congested districts of the Central Punjab. These men have been translated from holdings insufficient to support them and their belongings in comfort, to new areas of virgin soil, which have in the vast majority of cases been given them free, and in all but a very few cases, on

payment far below the market value as attested by the public auction of a limited area; advances for cattle, implements, house-building and the like, have been made at very low interest; water has been supplied them free at first, and then at moderate rates; the assessments have been admittedly lenient; and absolute security of tenure at a favourable rent has been conferred upon them on the fulfilment of conditions which are by no means onerous. The virgin soil has yielded plentiful harvests, they have suddenly risen from poverty to affluence, and the story of *Jeshurun* has been repeated.

8. Towards the end of last year, a Bill was introduced in Provincial Council which in certain minor respects modified and added to the terms upon which the colonists held their land, the modifications being directed, not to the benefit of Government, but to uniformity of tenure and the better administration of the colony for the general good. For some time no notice whatever was taken of the measure. But about the beginning of the year the editor of a local paper raised the cry of breach of faith on the part of Government, and the agitators at once saw their opportunity. They sent emissaries from Lahore to organize an agitation throughout the colony, and to hold public meetings at which their leading men attended and spoke. The Government of India have already been fully informed of the character of the agitation, and it is enough to say here that the most unscrupulous devices were made use of, the plain meaning of the Bill and the intentions of Government being distorted in the most ingenious and malevolent manner. Appendix E contains a police report of the speeches at one of these meetings.

9. Again on the Bari Doab Canal, which brings water to the thirsty lands in the south of the Lahore district, and with it, certainty to a formerly precarious cultivation, and wealth to the cultivator, the rates charged for water have recently been enhanced to take effect from the autumn harvest of the current year. Here again the agitators saw their opportunity. At the close of the meeting held at Lahore on the 1st April, and reported in Appendix A, it was arranged to invite a number of the village headmen to a meeting to be held on the 7th, an account of which will be found in Appendix C; and as a fact,

some 500 or 600 are believed to have been brought to Lahore for the occasion.

10. The Chenab Colony afforded a particularly effective centre for agitation, as in it were collected yeomen from all the central districts in the Punjab, and the feeling aroused in the colony naturally found an echo in the mother-districts, in some of which a considerable amount of discontent appears to have been felt. In almost all of them the agitators have attempted to inflame local feeling and in some of them their efforts have met with success. The list of meetings given in Appendix H will show how continuous and (within the Central Punjab) wide-spread their efforts have been.

11. One striking and exceedingly dangerous feature which has been observable everywhere is, that special attention has been paid to the Sikhs and, in the case of Lyallpur, to the military pensioners; and that special efforts have been made to procure their attendance at meetings, to enlist their sympathies, and to inflame their passions. So far, the active agitation has been virtually confined to districts in which the Sikh element is important, and which furnish numerous recruits of the native army; printed invitations and leaflets have been principally addressed to villages held by Sikhs; and at a public meeting held at Ferozepur, at which disaffection was openly preached, the men of the Sikh regiments stationed there were specially invited to attend, and several hundred of them acted upon the invitation. The Sikhs are told that it was by their aid, and owing to their willingness to shoot down their fellow-countrymen in the Mutiny, that the English maintained their hold upon India; that they fought for us in the Sudan, in Somaliland, in China, at Saraghari, and so forth and that we are now showing our gratitude by breaking faith with them by depriving them of their rights, and by over-taxing them. They are taunted with the suggestion that the cowardly Bengali has extorted a permanent settlement from the English, while the manly Punjabi is still periodically re-assessed. The assertion—false, of course, but suggested by the primogeniture rules—that the holding of a sonless grantee will be resumed by Government, is particularly addressed to the military pensioners, a large number of whom have no sons; and it has been asserted that even sons will not

inherit. Some of the most general arguments are of simply devilish ingenuity; as that, in raising the rates upon the irrigation of cotton and sugarcane, Government desires to crush two most promising indigenous industries and so to defeat the Swadeshi movement; or that, since the plague attacks natives, but not Europeans, it is plain that Government is disseminating it by some mysterious means. Another curiously wrong-headed argument is that we have taken the people's money and given them paper in return; and they are asked who is going to cash our currency notes when we are gone. The suggestion tells against us with an ignorant audience. Finally, the success which has attended the agitation in Bengal (presumably the resignation of Sir B. Fuller is alluded to) and the fact that in the face of the agitation in the Chenab Colony some of the provisions of the Colonization Bill were removed, and in face of that at Sialkot some of the proposed taxation remitted, are incessantly quoted to enforce the lesson that agitation is an effective weapon, and that they have only to persevere in order to extract almost any desired concession from Government. And each new concession as it is made is added to the list.

12. Another most dangerous suggestion which has found a place in the armoury of the agitator, though it is only just beginning to assume a prominent position there, is that of a combination to withhold the payment of Government revenue, water rates, and other dues. This I regard as an inconceivably dangerous suggestion, since it is difficult to see what Government could do in the face of such a combination, if at all general and persistent. Of course the advantages of passive resistance and the helplessness of the few Europeans against the millions of natives are sedulously insisted upon; and so called "District Associations" have, in two districts at any rate, issued leaflets calling upon the villagers to refuse supplies, carriage, and other help to Government officials of whatever sort, when travelling in the district. In one case the leaflet is accompanied by a picture of a villager beating an official. In the Rawalpindi district, in which the assessment has recently been revised, mass meetings have been held at which the zamindars have been advised to refuse payment of so much of their revenue as represents enhancement. Finally, the police are pilloried as traitors to their fellow countrymen for performing their duties in

connection with the agitation, and are adjured to quit the service of Government, while the same invitation is addressed to our native soldiery.

13. A minor sign of the times is, that when a couple of weeks ago, the menial staff on that portion of the North-Western State Railway which traverses the Chenab Colony went on strike, public meetings were convened to express sympathy with them and substantial sums of money were subscribed for their support. And several strikes have occurred among the minor revenue officials: though so far, they have been local and temporary.

14. I have said enough to show how persistent, how malignant, and how widespread the agitation has become. The active spirits belong almost without exception to the Arya Samaj, a society founded primarily with a religious object, but which in the Punjab at least, has always had a strong political bent. It is difficult to say what their precise object is, and probably a good many of them hardly know themselves. The chief leader of the movement recently urged his followers to "agitate for agitation's sake". Some of them, no doubt, look to driving us out of the country, or at any rate, from power, either by force or by the passive resistance of the people as a whole. But the immediate object of all seems to be, to make our government of the country impossible; and probably the idea of the great number is that we shall then, in order to escape from an impasse, be compelled to give them a larger share of power and of appointments, and to introduce the changes which they desire. And the main method by which they have set themselves to bring the Government machine to a standstill is by endeavouring to stir up a feeling of hatred for the English as such and for all that appertains to them.

15. In this endeavour, they have been immensely assisted by the recent prosecution of *The Panjabee* newspaper. The story for the publication of which *The Panjabee* was prosecuted was one of the deliberate murder of a native by an English Officer, on provocation of the most trivial nature. The Indians are, by the traditions of generations, always ready to believe anything against the Government of the time; unfortunately one of the gravest scandals of our rule in India is the frequency of unprovoked and sometimes fatal assaults by Europeans upon natives,

and the virtual impossibility of procuring convictions from a jury upon the more serious counts; and I fear that the story is almost universally believed to be true, even by those who are best disposed towards us. Needless to say, the prosecution has brought it to the knowledge of thousands, all over the Province, who otherwise would never have heard of it. But there is a still more effective cause of the evil that has been wrought. It is easy to be wise after the event; but there can be no doubt whatever that the decision to prosecute for promoting enmity between classes (Section 153-A) instead of for sedition (Section 124-A) was a disastrous mistake. A prosecution for the latter offence would have had the sympathy of all the more moderate and conservative elements in the country. But by electing to proceed upon the former, we at once created a racial question, and one, moreover, upon which we did not come into court with clean hands; and thus ranged against us those who would otherwise have been with us. Full advantage was taken of our blunder by our opponents; and they were assisted by the fact that the local English paper had recently published a series of highly objectionable letters directed against the natives as such, and that (since they were hardly bad enough to ensure a conviction) permission to prosecute the paper for the same offence for which *The Panjabee* was being prosecuted was refused. Thus the editor and proprietor of *The Panjabee* have posed as martyrs in the cause of Indians as against English; and they have received the sympathy of many who would have given it under no other conditions. Several of my district officers have impressed upon me how much harm this prosecution has done in their districts (or perhaps I should say, in their larger towns) and how they can trace the growth of a feeling of antipathy to the English from its date.

16. It is difficult to describe the present situation as a whole, since it varies widely in different parts of the Province. I have had the advantage of discussing it within the past six weeks with the officers in charge of twenty-seven out of twenty-nine Punjab districts.

17. Everywhere people are sensible of a change of a "new air" (*nayi hawa*) which is blowing through men's minds, and are waiting to see what will come of it. But in the east and west

of the Province, the new ideas are confined to the educated classes, and among them, in the main, to the pleaders, clerks, and students; and there is no active propaganda, even in the larger towns, except in so far as it may be preached by agitators from outside. As the centre of the Province is approached, however, the feeling in the towns grows stronger, and there are greater signs of activity and unrest. In the cities of Amritsar and Ferozepur there has been an attempt on the part of the Lahore agitators to arouse feelings of disloyalty which has apparently met with considerable success in Ferozepur, though it has not been so successful in Amritsar. In the towns of Rawalpindi, Sialkot and Lyallpur, an active anti-English propaganda is being openly and sedulously preached. In Lahore, the capital of the Province, the propaganda is virulent and has resulted in a more or less general state of serious unrest.

18. Among the villagers no serious and general spirit of disaffection has, I believe, been aroused as yet. But a feeling of discontent undoubtedly exists throughout the central districts of the Province in connection with the Colonization Bill and the enhanced canal rates, and is more or less acute in those districts (Lahore, Lyallpur, Sialkot and Ferozepur) where the agitators have directly appealed to the people. For the moment there is a lull, as the Viceroy has been asked to withhold assent from the Bill, while the imposition of the enhanced rates has been postponed on account of unfavourable seasons and plague. But the feeling is still there; it is kept alive by emissaries who are collecting subscriptions in the villages—nominally to cover the cost of memorialising; and my last letter from the Deputy Commissioner of Lyallpur tells me that, if the discontent in connection with the Bill is dying down, he is impressed with the fact that the general anti-English feeling among the villagers is growing in intensity.

19. The real danger of the situation lies in inaction on our part, and in what that inaction must lead to. The agitators have the great advantage of activity, they are attacking; they are working for a cause. The Muhammedans, and the Sanatan Dharam or school of orthodox Hinduism, are for the most part loyal, but also inactive; they "do not want to have bricks

thrown at them," as one of them put it. Between these two extremes stand, in the towns, the great mass of the people. They cannot be wholly unaffected by racial sympathy, and it is human to enjoy seeing a foreign Government heckled. Their interests are bound up with order and security; and their sympathies would be wholly with a strong Government, if Government will only be strong. If it is weak, however, they will inevitably join the opposition, if only for the sake of peace. They are standing now, waiting for us to strike; and every-day that we delay renders our position weaker.

20. In the villages the most dangerous feature of the situation is the readiness with which the peasantry have lent their ear to the agitator and have believed his teaching and followed his counsels. So far, perhaps, no very serious or lasting harm has been done. But the activity of the agitators is increasing, and they are extending their field of operations; the evil is daily spreading, and the anti-English feeling intensifying, both in towns and in villages; and the process must inevitably continue, if we allow seditious poison of the most insidious and malignant character to be poured into the minds of the people, both orally and in print. My Hindu visitors daily impress upon me the rapidity with which the evil is spreading, and the danger of inaction; my Muhammedan visitors tell me that if something is not done, they will not be able to restrain their younger men, who will go over to the enemy in a body.

21. I had hoped that the impetus which had been given to the agitation by the prosecution of *The Panjabee* would gradually subside. But I see no sign of its doing so. On the contrary, the agitators, emboldened by the impunity which they enjoy, are daily becoming more audacious and more active. It is an exciting game that they are playing; and so far, it has been unattended by danger to the players. This situation cannot continue with safety; and we must take measures to put an end to it.

22. The Punjabi is no doubt less hysterical than the Bengali. But he is not exempt from the defects of the East. Credulous to a degree which it is difficult for us to understand; traditionally disposed to believe evil of his Government; difficult to rouse perhaps, but emotional and inflammable when once roused, he affords ground admirably adapted to the purposes

of the political agitator, especially when some local grievance may have predisposed him to discontent. In the case of the Sikhs, the danger is especially great. It is only sixty years since they ruled the Punjab; it was largely their loyal help that enabled us to put down the Mutiny; they occupy all the centre of the Province; they supply a large and important portion of our native army; and a religious movement has lately made considerable progress among them which tends towards solidarity and pride of class, and will render them more powerful, whether for good or evil. The very sturdiness of the Punjabi, which makes him more difficult to move than the Bengali, makes the matter far more serious when he is moved; and if the loyalty of the Jat Sikhs of the Punjab is ever materially shaken, the danger will be greater than any which could possibly arise in Bengal.

23. If then the present process of open diffusion of sedition is not to be allowed to go on, the question is how it is to be stopped. Hitherto we have had recourse to prosecutions under one or other of the sections of the Indian Penal Code which relate to sedition and to promoting enmity between classes; the section of the Criminal Procedure Code which enables us to take security for good behaviour from persons who have committed acts punishable under these penal sections, not having been made use of in the Punjab. Now, without saying that in no case should a prosecution be undertaken, I do say emphatically that in all cases it does an infinity of harm. If unsuccessful, it is a disastrous blunder. If successful, it advertises far and wide the matter to which objection is taken, and brings it to the ears of thousands who otherwise would never have heard of it; it attracts public attention to the prosecution of men who pose as martyrs for the good of their country and people; the speeches of counsel are often almost as harmful as the original matter; when sentence is pronounced there are pathetic scenes in court, the martyrs bowing their heads to receive the parting benedictions of the party leaders; they are garlanded as they mount the vehicle which is to convey them to jail; they are attended on the road by crowds who insult Europeans; when released they are conducted in triumphant procession through the streets. Meanwhile, if it is a newspaper that is being prosecuted its fortune is made, for its circulation increases

enormously; the proceedings in court are reported in minute detail; sympathetic articles are sedulously collected and reprinted from the whole of the Indian Press; the proceedings are spun out to an intolerable length; while the evil is not suspended, even temporarily. After the editor and proprietor of *The Panjabee* had been convicted and sentenced, and while they were out on bail pending appeal, that paper published a description of a dance which constituted the foulest insult that can be conceived to Englishmen, and what is worse, to Englishwomen but which was so framed that it was impossible to take notice of it. The article in question appeared in the issue of the 17th March 1907, and I would specially invite the attention of the Government of India to its contents.

24. I am advised that action under the security section of the Criminal Procedure Code in no way avoids the evils which attend a prosecution, that the offence which has to be established is the same, and must be established substantially in the same manner; and that, if the accused so desire the licence of Counsel and the length and publicity of the proceedings will not be in any way diminished under what was presumably intended to be a more summary and effective procedure. The taking of security is in itself no punishment, and if it is desired to enforce the bond in case of breach of its conditions the whole process of quasi-prosecution has to be gone through a second time. In the case of speeches the difficulty of proof is a serious obstacle to the employment of either of these means of repression, since the evidence must be wholly that of detectives and informers who have to rely upon their memory of what has been said.

25. What is urgently needed to meet the present situation, and what alone will meet it effectively, is power to prevent, by executive action, the stream of seditious poison being poured into the minds of our people, either by printed matter or orally. The offence which would then be committed, if the executive prohibition was disregarded, would simply be that of disobedience to a lawful order. There would be no question of what had been written or spoken, or of its character, the only question would be the fact of publication or speech, and whether it had been prohibited. The issue would be simple and non-political, and the penalty would not be such as to arouse

resentment by its severity. The powers and measures which I consider necessary are as follow:—

I. Power to notify that, in any specified area no public meeting shall be held without notice to the police. The police would then attend as such with shorthand writers; and not, as at present, as detectives, liable to discovery and insult.
II. Power to prohibit any such meeting without assigning reasons. This would be a dangerous power in the hands of an unwise officer, as there is much which is very objectionable, but which it would be a mistake to attempt to repress. It would not be exercised except with the previous sanction, general or special, of the Commissioner.
III. Power to prohibit any specified person from addressing public meetings, without assigning reasons.
IV. A Press law. For years past I have been convinced that such a law was urgently needed for the safety of our rule in India, but have not pressed for it, because I have felt that to pass such a law, and to repeal it a few years later, would do far more harm than good. The law should empower the executive to suppress any paper, after warning, and should provideagainst its reappearance under the same management, though under another name.
V. It should be provided that when a conviction has been had under any of the criminal sections already referred to, based upon matter which has appeared in a paper should *ipso facto* be suspended from publication till the decision of the final appeal, and, if the conviction be upheld, should *ipso facto* be suppressed.
VI. Conspiracy or incitement to withhold the payment of Government dues should be made a penal offence. This proposal was considered in Lord Elgin's time and dropped on grounds which were mainly ephemeral in their character.

26. Such are the powers which I deem to be essential in order to enable me to cope with a situation that is already

dangerous, and the danger of which is almost daily increasing. They are powers which it will be necessary to use with the greatest discretion. It will be necessary scrupulously to avoid anything that might be construed as an attempt to repress the discussion of specific grievances, however fanciful the grievance and however wrong headed and hysterical the discussion. Even deliberate misrepresentation of the objects and actions of the Government must in such cases be tolerated so long as it is not malignant. But words designed to inflame the feelings of the listeners or of the readers against the English as such, or against the English Government, or to incite them to oppose the Government, whether by overt act or by passive resistance or abstention, or to render its working impossible by withholding its dues, should not be allowed.

27. At best it will take some considerable time before any power of this nature can be conferred; and it is out of the question that the situation must meanwhile be allowed to develop as at present, without any preventive action on our part. There is one power which we already possess, and which I have not yet discussed. It is that of deportation under Regulation III of 1818. No conditions can well be conceived which should fall more precisely within the scope of the preamble to that Regulation than those at present existing in the Punjab. The "security of the British dominions from internal commotion" is threatened; while judicial proceedings are, for certain reasons "inadvisable or improper." All the evils attendant upon a prosecution are avoided, and the procedure is quiet, sudden and effective and of a nature calculated to strike terror into the minds of those concerned. I am separately addressing specific proposals under this head to the Government of India. But the power is one which can be used only in the most sparing manner; and it is by no means certain that matters have not now gone too far for it to be effective. If that is so, it will be necessary again to consider the advisability of prosecution if executive powers cannot be conferred at once. The one thing that we cannot afford to do is to remain inactive.

28. I have written this Minute under a full sense of responsibility. If the power for which I now ask had from the first been enjoyed by Government, the evil could and would have been repressed in its first beginning. As it is, I am compelled to sit

inactive and watch the infection spreading, because I have no preventive powers, while punitive measures do more harm than good. I am not sure that the powers for which I ask may not in any case come too late to prevent very serious trouble and evil of an enduring character. But I am convinced that without them, the peaceable government of the Province will before long become so difficult as to be almost impossible. And they should be given without a day's avoidable delay, for everyday the situation becomes more serious.

DENZIL IBBETSON
Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and its Dependencies

30th April 1907

APPENDIX 4

BAN ON THE ENLISTMENT OF ARYAS IN THE ARMY: ACTION BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, ARMY DEPT.[1]

1. The leaders of the Arya Samaj will invariably declare that the doctrines and teachings of their Society are purely religious and social, their aim being to bring the religion and customs of the people more into line with modern education and thought, to eliminate objectionable or foolish superstitions which tend to degrade those that believe in them, and finally to establish one creed for the people of India.

2. The removal of caste prejudices and restrictions appeals to the better educated of all classes, the levelling up of Aryan castes attracts the classes who claim Aryan descent but who have under the tenets of the Hindu religion been systematically treated as socially inferior to the Brahmans and Kshatriyas or Rajputs. It is for this reason that the Jats and Khatris have been induced to join the movement to such an extent. At the same time in order not to lose the powerful influence of Brahmans and Rajputs, (and even of Mahomedans) who are at present not sufficiently liberal-minded to be willing to forego their pride of race and social position by having even to eat with classes they consider their inferiors, the Arya Samaj has modified some of its original rules and does not object to Aryas of one caste refusing to eat or intermarry with Aryas of another if they so wish.

3. A point the Aryas are careful not to publish except in a very guarded manner is their political aim which is in short "*India for the Indians*". In order not to frighten away the large majority of the people they wish to convert but who are perfectly satisfied with the present order of things, they teach the

1. **Vide Home Political B, Nos. 798-800, July 1910.**

advantages of local self-government as carried out in the manner of the old village "panchayats" with the criticism and vote of all individuals of the community directing such government; following this the idea of general self-government is gradually instilled.

4. To further this aim, criticism of the existing form of government is freely indulged in, and no means are left unturned to breed discontent in the minds of the people and to foster "swadeshism", self-help and self-sacrifice.

5. As it was obvious that the Indian soldiers helped the alien Government to rule the country, the Arya Samaj at first preached against military service. Young men, whenever possible, were dissuaded from entering the Army, antipathy to the service was taught in colleges and schools, and endeavours were used to make the soldier dissatisfied with his position and pay. Latterly, however, the Arya Samaj have changed their tactics and now aim at making converts in the army and recruits who have already joined the Samaj freely enlist.

6. The Arya Samaj is closely connected with extremist societies though no doubt all members of the Samaj are not extremists at present. The youths who join the Samaj and then enlist probably do not know what the real aims of the society are, but this would be taught them later on.

7. While it is recognised that to have soldiers belonging to the Arya Samaj cannot be but detrimental to the Indian Army, nothing very definite has so far been done in the matter.

When the question of the enlistment of Aryas was raised in 1906 by the Officer Commanding 123rd Rifles, it was then thought there were not sufficient grounds to justify interference in the matter, and General Officers Commanding were informed that the official attitude in cases of this nature should be one of strict neutrality as the principles of the sect were not only so far unobjectionable, but productive of good since they helped to remove prejudices which were harmful from a military point of view; at the same time the necessity of British officers watching the effects of the teachings of the Arya Samaj on their men was pointed out.

8. In 1907 it was recognised that the Arya Samaj was not a harmless society but that under this cloak sedition was preached and attempts were being made by it to organize a regular

system for the dissemination of sedition. The Judge Advocate-General (Colonel Thomson) then recommended that no action should be taken for the present in respect of soldiers against whom there was nothing but the bare fact that they were members of the Arya Samaj inasmuch as the latter would declare it was a religious and not a secret society and that it had no connection with politics even though some of its prominent members had joined in agitation, constitutional or otherwise. The Judge Advocate General further stated that if thought desirable, it would be quite legal for the military authorities to declare that no officer or soldier was allowed to join the Arya Samaj or to remain a member of it, and that disobedience of this order would be visited by severe punishment under Indian Article of war 9 or 70.

9. The question was then referred by Lord Kitchener (who was doubtful of the best course to pursue) to the Chief of the Staff's Division. There is no record in this Division showing what was decided by the Chief of the Staff, but an Adjutant General's circular on the Arya Samaj, dated the 15th July 1907 was issued for the information of all Staff officers and British officers in the Indian Army.

10. During 1907-08 all concerned were warned regarding the introduction of seditious literature into the lines of Native units.

11. In April 1908 the Recruiting Staff Officer for Jats made a report regarding Jats in the Army who were members of the Arya Samaj, and a warning to all regiments enlisting Jats was circulated to all General Officers Commanding.

12. About this time it was reported that amongst other Regiments, the 10th Jats contained a large number of "Aryas" who were connected with extremists. This was denied by the Officer Commanding who, however, reported that there were a certain number of "Aryas" in the Regiment who had taken to wearing the "janeo", but that he had taken certain steps which would cause the practice to cease.

13. In August 1908 all General Officers Commanding were warned concerning the report that large numbers of Sadhus were on the move to tamper with the Native Army.

14. In November the Recruiting Officer for Jats (Major Jamieson) furnished an account of the progress of the Arya

Samaj movement amongst the Jats of each of the districts in his area from which recruits were taken and it was again pointed out that under the name of "Arya Samaj" doctrines, sedition was being actively preached in schools and by paid itinerant lecturers to the Jats of Hissar, Karnal and other Jat districts in the Delhi Division, and the undesirability of soldiers of the Indian Army being imbued with their ideas was dwelt upon. In September this Division issued to all concerned a summary compiled from the above report, on the Arya Samaj and its influence among Jats.

15. In May 1909 the Criminal Intelligence Department reported that efforts by the various Arya Samajas and Hindu Sikh *Sabhas* were being directed towards securing the attendance of Native officers and men of the Native Army at all their meetings in places where troops were stationed, and Commanding Officers were warned to be on their guard and prevent their men from attending such meetings.

16. In July two reports of activity on the part of the Arya Samaj in this respect were received as having taken place during May. One at Kohat where some sepoys of the 112 Infantry took active part in a meeting of that society. The Officer Commanding reported that this had been done without his knowledge and that subsequently, as he understood that the matter was to be treated cautiously, he had expressed his disapproval and his *wish* that no men should attend such meetings. He further added that in all regiments enlisting Jats there were a certain number of Aryas which fact he had reported two years previously.

The second case had occurred in the 125th Rifles at Bangalore where, as subsequently came to the Commanding Officer's knowledge, at a farewell entertainment given in the lines to a Subedar who was being sent on pension partly on account of the fact that he was an avowed "Arya," some civilian Arya Samajists, one of whom was the local secretary to the society, were present: Two others also who were Brahmans had, it subsequently transpired, been constantly in the lines of the Regiment, for some considerable time without permission, and in company with a Native officer and some non-commissioned officers, and had moreover officiated at a religious ceremony in the lines. It was pointed out by the General Officer

Commanding that the Native officer and the non-commissioned officers could be dealt with for disobedience of orders, but that no evidence of seditious language having been used could be brought up, and so far as he could gather from instructions on the subject, although Commanding Officers had been warned against the machinations of the Arya Samaj and instructed to frustrate them to the best of their ability, it was not intended, so far, openly to prohibit soldiers from belonging to the society or from having dealings with its members. He did not intend therefore taking any overt action in this, or similar cases, which would have the effect of publicly proscribing the society. In reply, the General Officer Commanding 9th Division was told that the course of action he proposed was in accordance with the views of the Commander-in-Chief.

17. In August last a report was received that a Jat sepoy, of the 94th Russell's Infantry, at Baroda, who had been known for 2 years to be a member of the Arya Samaj, on return from furlough had shown great activity in attempting to spread the tenets of his society in the Regiment. The man took his discharge when this came to notice. A considerable amount of literature relating to the Arya Samaj and in some cases containing seditious matter was also reported to have been in circulation amongst the Jats of this Regiment, but as the seizure of these books would have involved the raising of undesirable suspicions and the creation of unnecessary excitement, the Officer Commanding did not see any of them nor was he able to state their names, but reported that they appeared to be no longer in possession of the men and that he had every reason to believe that there was no sedition, or unrest amongst the Jats who he thought had no way been influenced by this literature.

18. In October it was left to the discretion of General Officers Commanding Divisions and Independent Brigades to grant or withhold permission for the attendance (prohibited in May) of Native ranks at the meetings of various Hindu and Sikh Sabhas *with the exception of those of the Arya Samaj*, as it had been represented that with the above exception such meetings were of a religious nature only.

19. Lately the case of sedition in the 10th Jats has come to light and it is understood that some, if not all of the men implicated are Aryas.

20. In January last the Recruiting Officer for Jats (Major Bourne) asked as to the advisability of his questioning recruits before enlistment as to whether they were "Aryas" or not and in the event of their belonging to this society, whether he was to enlist them. The question was raised as the Officer Commanding 10th Jats had informed him that no Aryas were to be enlisted for his regiment. He was informed that he should carry out the wishes of the Officer Commanding 10th Jats, but that this should be the limit of his action in the matter until the whole question had been considered.

21. In short, the matter may be summarised as follows:— On the one hand an organisation with as its aim "a universal creed and self-government for India" which is recognised as being closely connected with "extremists," and as being detrimental to Government, and members of which it is admitted, are a danger in the Indian Army. An organisation which has, and undoubtedly may still further after its tenets and tactics in order to weld different classes together, to create dissatisfaction with the present Government, and to strengthen its position by proselytising in the Indian Army in furtherance of its aim. When its intentions are questioned, it hides behind the cloak of religion and repudiates all connection with those of its members who come under more than suspicion.

22. On the other hand it appears that the intention of Government is that no active steps against this organisation should be taken; it should be watched, but even an adverse opinion of it should not be expressed, and its members should not be discouraged from taking Government service. As far as the Army is concerned, General Officers Commanding and unit commanders are under the impression that the matter is to be treated very cautiously, that no steps are to be taken which may be construed into the "proscription" of the society of the Indian Army, but that the effects of its propaganda by members amongst other soldiers should be watched and discountenanced as should also be the attendance of men at meetings of the society held outside the lines.

23. The results of this do not appear to be satisfactory, the number of Arya Samajists in the Army, may have, and probably has, increased. Some Commanding Officers disapproving that the bad influence of certain members of the society in their

regiments have taken every opportunity of getting rid of such men but without giving the real reason which, however, it thought, may be recognised amongst the men themselves and such action might be construed as being underhand and due to fear of the society.

24. Steps perhaps should now be taken, first to ascertain how far the Indian Army has already been affected by the Arya Samaj (numbers, rank and classes of known members and of those suspected) and secondly to prevent the organisation from obtaining a detrimental hold in the Army which it would be able to make use of as occasion offered.

G. Bailey,—1-3-10.

The above notes give I think, a very clear outline of the history of the Arya Samaj, so far as it has affected the Indian Army during the last few years.

It is a matter of common knowledge that this society, although the tenets and conduct of many of its members may be above reproach, undoubtedly does consist to a very large extent of men whose actions are proved to have been seditious. Since therefore this society no longer maintains its original character of a purely religious organisation but contains so many members whose aims are distinctly seditious, it would not seem too drastic a measure for Government to refuse employment of any kind to its members.

In any case Government is not justified in leaving the responsibility of dealing with cases where its propaganda may injuriously affect the Army, to Regimental Commanders. The attitude of Government is so uncertain that these officers can, as a rule, only act by obtaining the dismissal of suspected Arya Samajists, without giving them the true reason of their discharge. This line of action is indefensible and must in the end make matters worse, as such men either think themselves wrongfully discharged, or that Government is afraid to give the real reason.

The Samaj has been treated so far with the utmost toleration, but it must be evident from the number of cases which have come to light as to its working in the Army that its influence is spreading to an extent which if not checked will, before long, prove a very real danger. It is impossible to check this growth

by the means hitherto resorted to and it seems that the time has now arrived, when the only remedy is to stop the enlistment of men belonging to the Arya Samaj and to forbid men either to join or remain members of this society. Colonel Thomson, late Judge Advocate General has given his opinion that there would be no legal objection to this course of action should it be considered desirable.

The knowledge that Government looked with disfavour on this organisation among its soldiers would, I am sure, deter many who now join it, in ignorance of its real designs, from doing so in future. These would be loth to give up their means of livelihood for the sake of belonging to a society which is well known to be a political and social organisation only and into which the questions of its being a religion does not really enter. If it did, it is unlikely that men of such varied religions as Sikhs, Jats and Brahmans could belong to it while still maintaining as they do, their caste prejudices and religious customs.

The matter is one which calls for early action, and more energetic measures than have hitherto prevailed, can no longer be postponed.

C.P.W. PIRIE—4-3-10.

Adjutant-General.

Your Excellency may like to see the preceding notes on the Arya Samaj by Major Bailey and Colonel Pirie. Also the yellow pamphlet below, which has been circulated to commanding officers from this office.

The Home Department file which has been circulated to Hon'ble Members is linked with this. Your Excellency asks for an authoritative decision from Government that the Arya Samaj is a seditious society.

I don't know what action the Home Department is taking about this, but I think the best thing we can do is to enquire from Commanding Officers and find out how many men of each rank they have who belong to the society, and what their influence is believed to be as affecting the discipline and loyalty of the regiment as a whole. This is a delicate subject to deal with, but if we are to address Government and get authority to

stop the recruiting of Aryas, we ought to have something more definite to go upon than we have at present. At the request of the Officer Commanding, 10th Jats I have already told the recruiting officer not to enlist any more Aryas for that battalion, but I suppose we could hardly do this for the whole army without the sanction of Government.

If your Excellency approves of enquiries being made I can note to that effect on the Home Department file.

A.A. BARRETT—14-3-10.

Commander-in-Chief.

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I agree with the view taken in paragraphs 21, 22, 23 and 24 of the Adjutant General's Division note, also with the notes above. Paragraph 23 is, in my opinion, important. As regards paragraph 24 and last paragraph of Adjutant-General's note, I would reverse the procedure suggested. Steps should first be taken to prevent the organisation obtaining a detrimental hold on the army and, secondly, enquiries should be made as to the extent to which the army is affected by the Arya Samaj. But action should not be postponed for this to be done.

2. To carry out the first, a carefully worded order to the army should explain that as the Arya Samaj had started as a religious society it had in accordance with the principles of the Government not been objected to. Recent events, however, have abundantly proved that the result of its teachings has been political education. That as "one fly would make a maund of sweet oil bad" and as the army must be beyond reproach, it had been decided that no Arya Samajists should in future be enlisted.

3. I am also strongly of opinion that the 6th and 10th Jats should have two companies of another caste introduced into them, and they should cease to be class regiments. Recent events justify this, and also the appointment of a Subedar-Major of another class.

4. On 3rd October 1907 my predecessor recorded "I think we ought to do something but am doubtful as to the best course." And a circular was issued warning Commanding

Officers to be on their guard. Since then much has happened and I doubt if circular had much effect. We know it did little good in the 10th Jats. When at Allahabad recently, both the Commandant and the Subedar-Major (a Jat) of the 48th Pioneers assured me that there was no Arya Samajist in the battalion. And yet within a few days, information obtained from another regiment showed this was not the case. We know the society has gained a footing in the 112th, 123rd, 6th and 10th Jats and other Corps.

5. I regret I have not been able to see as many Indian regiments this winter as I had hoped but by more extensive touring in the future and other steps that are being taken, I trust we shall be better informed in future.

6. I observe it is stated in the pamphlet that Major-General Sir Pertab Singh of Idar is said to be an Arya Samajist, and the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale mentioned to me privately, as a proof of the Society's loyal intentions, that this was the case. This, however, does not make me alter my view. Experience shows that though many loyal and honourable men are members of the Society, it is the extremists who get the upper hand in the control of such politico-religious bodies. This seems clearly to be the case with the Arya Samaj which commenced as a religious, became a politico-religious and is now without doubt in great part a political society which it would be dangerous to allow to get a greater hold on the Army than at present.

7. The case should be seen in the Army Department and the sanction of the Government of India would have to be obtained to the action proposed in paragraph 2.

O M. C [REAGH],—22-3-10.

His Excellency the Army Member has verbally informed me that he wishes this case to be seen in the Home Department, for concurrence, or remarks, before any action is taken to give effect to the instructions contained in paragraph 2 of his note, dated the 22nd March 1910.

ROBERT SCALLON,—23-3-10.

We may agree to the action proposed in paragraph 2 of His

Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's note, dated the 22nd instant being taken.

G. F.,—26-3-10.

If the military authorities issue orders that no member of the Arya Samaj is to be recruited for the Army or that no officer or soldier of the army should join that society; we may be pretty certain that we shall have petitions to the Government of India, memorials to the Secretary of State and questions in Parliament. We ought, therefore, to feel quite sure, of our ground before expressing concurience in the course proposed. Now I doubt whether we could justify the assertion that the Arya Samaj is a seditious political society. Many of its members are undoubtedly loyal to the British nation and membership does not necessarily imply disaffection. No doubt many of the members are disaffected and many of the Lodges work in their corporate capacity against the Government, but are we prepared to say that the political side of the Samaj so overshadows the religious side that the society is essentially a political one? Personally I think that in the Punjab the Samaj is essentially a political society but I do not feel sure that this is the case in other provinces, and even in the case of the Punjab the evidence in support of the view that the society is essentially a political one is not very strong. I venture to urge that before any orders are issued the Government of the Punjab and, perhaps, the Government of the United Provinces, should be consulted.

H.A. STUART,—31-3-10.

I understand that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief proposes to make a public announcement to the Army that Arya Samajists will no longer be enlisted. I think we ought to be on surer ground before such a bomb is exploded, and the first thing to be done obviously is to consult the Punjab and United Provinces Governments on the proposal.

H. A [DAMSON],—1-4-10.

5 Army Department.

Your Excellency.

Will you kindly read the notes by Sir Harold Stuart and the Hon'ble the Home Member above.

With Your Excellency's approval the Governments of the Punjab and the United Provinces will be addressed as suggested.

Robert Scallon,—11-4-10.

I approve.

O'M. C[Reagh],—17-4-10.

Will the Home Department kindly see the draft below, and advise as to whether they approve, or as to what amendments they consider desirable with reference to the Hon'ble the Home Member's note, dated 1st April 1910 above.

Robert Scallon,—21-4-10.

This department may concur in the draft.

H.A. Stuart,—25-4-10.
H.A. [Damson],—25-4-10.

Army Department.

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Issue.

Robert Scallon,—27-4-10.

PRO. NO. 798. TO THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH / PUNJAB, No. 1003-B., DATED 28TH APRIL 1910.

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PRO. NO. 799. FROM THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT, NO. 898-S.B., DATED THE 4TH MAY 1910.

Say that unless the Army authorities have very definite proof that the Arya Samaj, as a body, is teaching sedition in the Army, the Lieutenant-Governor would deprecate any direct action against the society as a whole and would deal with individual cases as they occur.

The reply of the United Provinces Government may be awaited. In the meantime the Adjutant-General and Chief of General Staff may see.

With reference to paragraph 1 of the Punjab letter it may be remarked that the Home Department have recently sent to that Government, a copy of correspondence regarding the 10th Jats.

L.N. Burman,—10-5-10.
Robert Scallon,—11-5-20.

Adjutant-General in India.
Chief of General Staff.

On the Home Dapartment file regarding the Arya Samaj, Sir H. Risely, on the 31st January last, considered that it should be borne in mind that a religion such as the Arya Samaj could hardly fail to take on a political complexion and in February it was generally agreed among the Viceroy's Council that while in old days the Arya Samaj was regarded rather as a religious than a political body in the United Provinces, the case had always been different in the Punjab. The Hon'ble the Army Member stated that he considered that it was a seditious society, but that an authoritative decision on the point was required, adding that perhaps it might be well to declare it a religion or caste, not recognized as being one enlisted in the Army.

2. In March 1910, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief recommended that in order to prevent the Arya Samaj from obtaining a detrimental hold on the Army, (i) an Army order should be issued to the effect that the result of the teachings of this organization had been political education which was

harmful to the Army and as the latter must be beyond reproach, it had been decided that no Arya Samajists should in future be enlisted, and (ii) that, as a second step, enquiries should be made as to the extent to which the Army was affected by the Arya Samaj.

3. The Home Department were of opinion that Government should be on surer ground before action as at (i) above should be taken; and that the Governments of the Punjab and the United Provinces should first be consulted.

4. These Governments were, therefore addressed and asked for their opinions on the proposal to prohibit the enlistment of Aryas and also to forbid men either to join or remain members of the society.

5. In reply the Punjab Government has stated that they had received no information from the Army Department as to the extent to which the Arya Samaj was working its way into the Army, and that the Lieutenant-Governor saw no reason to modify the opinion he had already expressed in a letter to the President of the Samaj, which was understood to have had a good effect on the "Vegetarian" section of the community, many of whom had taken oaths of active loyalty. The society was believed by Sir Louis Dane to be primarily a religious society, but that as in the case of the Sikh Khalsa Diwans and Sikh Sabhas which were as active and dangerous as the Arya Samaj, its aims and actions might easily in certain centres become political. Finally the Lieutenant-Governor deprecated any direct action against the society as a whole unless there was definite proof that, as a body, it was teaching sedition in the Army, and suggested that individual cases should be dealt with as they occur, *i.e.*, any Arya *when found to be seditious*, should be dismissed.

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FROM THE UNITED PROVINCES GOVERNMENT, NO. 123-C., DATED THE 11TH MAY 1910.

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[*Received from Army Secretary* (*A.*).]

6. The reply of the United Provinces Government contains the views of the Hon'ble Mr. Porter, (Sir J.P. Hewett being on leave). A very incomplete list of regiments enlisting in the United Provinces and Oudh is given, and it is pointed out that the Arya Samaj has obtained a firm hold on the western districts of the province and that while a large number of members concern themselves solely with the religious and social aims of the society, there are a considerable number of extremists who are actively disloyal and that these men are undoubtedly a source of real danger as they are particularly active and have brought discredit and suspicion on the society generally. The Lieutenant-Governor is of opinion that it would be a mistake to confound these two classes and proscribe the whole Samaj, and states that a proposal to exclude Aryas as a body from the services of the local civil Government has been vetoed. While recognizing that the problem the military authorities have to face may be different and that the United Provinces Government is not in possession of all the facts, the Lieutenant-Governor is not prepared to recommend that the course proposed should be adopted.

7. From the printed note on the Arya Samaj by the Criminal Intelligence Department put up with the Home Department file below, it would appear that since 1893 that society has split up into two factions: (i) the vegetarians, and (ii) the meat-eaters, and that the breach between these two factions still exists, the headquarters of the Vegetarians being Jullundur, and of the meat-eaters, Lahore. In the controversy between the two factions, the cheif speaker for the flesh-eating section has insisted upon the liberal and "national" character of the Arya Samaj, while the vegetarians have accused the former of acting from political motives. Generally it has been noticed that the meat-eating section of the Samaj has been more closely identified with

political work than the vegetarian. The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College which is the centre of the meat-eating faction was suspected as long ago as 1895, of being against the Government.

8. In 1907 a manifesto was published by the President, Vice-President and leading members of the Arya Samaj clearly advocating constitutional agitation, but declaring strong disapproval of sedition and unconstitutional methods. This may, therefore, be taken as the present avowed position of the Samaj. Members of the Arya Samaj are still the most prominent leaders of political agitation which, however, they are now conducting on more moderate lines, and Arya Samaj meetings are no longer openly used for the dissemination of seditious views.

9. On the other hand the following points are brought to notice:—

(i) It is known that Swami Dayanand the founder of the religion, was himself an ardent nationalist and that political subjects have been discussed at the Samaj anniversaries from the beginning.

(ii) There is nothing to show that before the deportation of certain members suspected of unconstitutional agitation, * * * the society as a whole made any attempt to control the mischievous activities of its members. If any such attempts were made they were certainly ineffective.

(iii) That some of the headquarter leaders of the college or "meat-eating" party and many of the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the local Samajes were actively disloyal and were using the organization to disseminate their views.

(iv) That the Arya Samaj is anti-Christian, and since 1908 has become more active in proselytising, which has resulted in resistance on the part of the religious bodies affected and has lead in some cases to conflicts between them and the Arya Samaj.

10. Considering the matter from the point of view of the Indian Army, the following would appear to be reasons amply justifying the action proposed by His excellency the Commander-in-Chief which would in no way affect the attitude

of Government towards members of the Arya Samaj in civil employment.

(i) Regarding the vegetarian section many of whom it is understood have taken oaths of active loyalty to Government, it is a generally accepted principle that "vegetarians" are unsuitable for the army and are therefore not enlisted. Even the Brahmans enlisted are meat-eaters, and such sects as Vishnois and non-meat-eating Jats who have wished to enlist have been refused.

(ii) Regarding the meat-eating section many of whose leaders are known to have been actively disloyal, and the avowed policy of whom is constitutional agitation and the criticism of those in authority over them, in the furtherance of their own nationalism, it is recognized that in the interest of discipline without which the Army cannot be maintained, soldiers should not be mixed up in politics. The case of the 10th Jats is an example of the evil results from a disciplinary point of view, of allowing soldiers to belong to a society like the Arya Samaj. Evidence was brought forward that a large number of the men of this regiment were first induced to become Aryas and then certain of these were seduced from their allegiance and prevailed upon to join a secret and active revolutionary movement. Owing to the prevalence of the Arya Samaj in the regiment, steps to check which had not been taken, the true state of affairs in the regiment was kept hidden from the Commanding Officer and British officers until the connection of certain of the men with active sedition was brought to light by the civil police.

(iii) Again supposing for the sake of argument that the Arya Samaj was a religious body *only*, and had nothing whatever to do with politics, its entry into the Indian Army and its attempts at proselytising among the soldiers of the old recognized religions are sure, sooner or later, to lead to resistance on the part of the latter and discord and dissension among the native ranks of the Army will ensue.

G. Bailey,—21-5-10.

As the Home Department have asked for these notes and correspondence, the file is returned for their information to avoid delay.

When received back again they will be printed.

M. H. S. Grover,—24-5-10.

Army Secretary (A.)

Forwarded to the Home Department for information and favour of early return.

Robert Scallon,—25-5-10.

Mr. Woodman,

Please speak to-day. The Army Department have not yet seen Mr. Sands' book.

A copy of Mr. Sands' book may be sent to the Army Department with this file.

A. Earle,—26-5-10.

Your Excellency will, I think, wish to see Mr. Sands' book on the Arya Samaj.

Robert Scallon,—28-5-10.

Thanks. If what is stated in Mr. Sands' book is true—which I see no reason to doubt for it is confirmed by what I have heard elsewhere—in my opinion it makes it more important that steps should be taken to prevent the spread of this society in the Army. This however will be difficult and could be only temporary if it is allowed a free run among the people from whom the Army is recruited. It is very interesting to have such opinions as those of Sir Mackworth Young and Sir Denzil Ibbetson. It is a pity we have not got a book on the doings of the Arya society in the Punjab on the same lines as Mr. Sands' for the United provinces.

O'M. C[Reagh], 6-6-10.

On the return of the case from the Home Department it will be submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy.

Robert Scallon.—7-6-10.

Home Department.

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1. The Army Department have it under contemplation to obtain the orders of the Government of India to be allowed to issue an Army Order to the effect that the Arya Samaj had started as a religious society and that in accordance with the principles of Government it had not been objected to, but that recent events have shown that its teachings have been of a political character, and that, as the Army must be beyond reproach, no Arya Samajist should in future be recruited.

2. Sir Harold Stuart and Sir Harvey Adamson thought that before any such drastic measure was taken, the Punjab and United Provinces Governments should be consulted. The replies of those Governments are to the effect that it would be most unwise to declare the whole Samaj a seditious body, and that seditious individuals or individual branches of the Samaj should be dealt with. The Army Department have since seen Mr. Sands' book on the Arya Samaj and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, after perusal of this book, has recorded his view that it is important to prevent the spread of the society in the Army. He has observed, however, that this would be difficult and would only be temporary if the society is allowed a free run among the people from whom the Army is recruited. The questions upon which the Home Dapartment are asked to advise are, therefore, I gather—

(1) What action can be taken to prevent the spread of the society among the people from whom the Army is recruited.

(2) Whether recruiting from the Arya Samaj should be stopped.

3. As regards the first question I invite attention to the Home Department notes in the linked file. The view taken is

that it is impossible to proscribe the whole Arya Samaj society as seditious, that offending individuals and individual branches of the Samaj should be promptly dealt with, and that the Lieutenant Governors of the United Provinces and Punjab should exercise their influence with the governing bodies of the Samaj.

4. The second question is more difficult. It seems to me with all due deference that it would be unwise and unnecessary to proclaim that in future no Arya Samajist should be recruited in the Army. Any such declaration would probably give rise to violent agitation both here and at home, and could not be sustained. I do not, however, see why the Army Department should not, without any such formal declaration, exercise their discretion in the matter of recruiting Arya Samajists. I see from the Army Department note of 21st May 1910 that it is an accepted principle that vegetarians are unsuitable for the Army and are therefore not enlisted; that even Brahmans who are enlisted are meat-eaters and that such sects as Vishnois and non-meat eating Jats, who wish to enlist, are refused. Similarly, I understand, discretion is exercised in many other directions in the matter of recruitment. I see absolutely no reason why the Army authorities should not, in the exercise of their discretion, cease to recruit Arya Samajists for particular regiments or in particular localities, if, owing to trouble in particular regiments, or owing to seditious teachings of particular Arya Samajists or branches of the Arya Samaj in particular localities, it is considered desirable to take that course. No general rule, however, is required or would, in my opinion, be advisable. Individual cases should be dealt with on their merits. There might be no objection to recruiting Arya Samajists in certain localities or for certain regiments, while there might be the gravest possible objection to such recruiting in respect of other regiments or localities. Further, what is impracticable at a given time may at a later date be found to be practicable. No hard-and-fast rule should, in my opinion, be laid down, nor is any such rule required.

A. Earle, 9-6-10.

The orders in this case must to a general extent depend on the decision which is taken upon the linked case. I have already expressed my opinion as to the attitude which should be adopted

towards the Arya Samaj, and I find nothing in these papers which would induce me to change my views as to the general line of action which seems to be required. At the present moment any general and public proscription of the Arya Samaj would be impolitic.

At the same time I fully recognise that more stringent precautions are necessary in the case of the Army than in Civil employment. The Army authorities should have a perfectly free hand to refuse to recruit members of the Arya Samaj for certain regiments and in certain districts, and to forbid Sepoys to attend meetings of the Arya Samaj during their service. The recruiting officers ought to be in close touch with the district officers. If these and similar precautions are taken, we can afford safely to wait upon events, while maintaining a vigilant watch. It is impossible to foretell what the future of the Arya Samaj may be. We know that it is bitterly hostile to the Mussalmans, and that the ill will is returned with interest. Its doctrines are abhorrent to the old-fashioned Hindus, and Brahminism is still one of the greatest forces in the country. If the Samaj is let alone, and no great leader arises, the probability is that it will split up into sects, and may cease to be dangerous.

J.L. J[Enkinsl—11-16-10.

Army Department.

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Your Excellency has asked for this case.

Robert Scallon,—13-6-10.

Seen. Mr. Jenkins' remarks regarding recruiting officers being in touch with the civil authorities is most important, and should be attended to at once, not only regarding this society but in regard to all recruiting.

O.'M. C[Reagh],—13-6-10.

It would in my opinion be a grave political mistake to proscribe the whole Arya Samaj as seditious, which would be the interpretation placed upon a Government of India decision

to forbid the recruiting of Arya Samajists for the Army. I have not the slightest doubt that such a decision would raise dangerous opposition both in India and at home.

The position appears to me to be very clearly explained, and the best manner of dealing with it indicated in the Honourable Mr. Jenkins' two notes of 26th May 1910 on the linked file and 11th June 1910 on this file.

I would draw special attention to the necessity of recruiting officers being in close touch with district officers. Samajists need not be recruited in districts where the above authorities do not think it advisable, and in the case of Samajists already enlisted, cases should be dealt with by Commanding Officers on their individuals merits.

M[Into],—17-6-10.

Will Your Excellency kindly refer to His Excellency the Viceroy's note above.

Robert Scallon,—18-6-10.

Seen. I should like to speak to Army Secretary with a view to deciding on action in accordance with last paragraph of His Excellency the Viceroy's note.

O.'M. C[Reagh],—20-6-10.

His Excellency the Army Member has asked me to request the Adjutant General to kindly take his orders (as Commander-in-Chief) on this case to-day.

Robert Scallon,—22-6-10.

Adjutant General.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief wishes you to see the draft of the letter it is proposed to issue to General Officers Commanding Divisions and Independent Brigades and Recruiting Officers, for approval.

M.H.S. Grover,—27-6-10.

Army Department.

With the concurrence of the Home Department the draft may be approved.

Robert Scallon,—27-6-10.

The draft does not appear to me to be in accordance with His Excellency's orders. The orders contained in paragraph 2 seem to me to be a wholesale prohibition to recruit Arya Samajists. If I am correct in so thinking, this paragraph clearly does not conform to His Excellency's orders:—

"Samajists need not be recruited in districts where the above authorities (the recruiting and district officers) do not think it advisable." In passing these orders His Excellency referred with approval to the method of dealing with the case suggested in the Hon'ble Member's notes dated 26th May 1910 and 10th June 1910. I think that the Army Department should be asked to reconsider the draft, so as to bring it into conformity with the orders passed.

A. Earle,—28-6-10.

The proposed instructions do not prohibit the recruitment of Arya Samajists, though the effect of them will be that Arya Samajists will not be recruited. The principle which is asserted is that recruitment for class regiments or companies must be restricted to the designated classes. If a Jat turns Muhammadan he cannot be enlisted in a Jat regiment, for, though he remains a Jat by race, he has, owing to his change of religion, ceased to be the sort of Jat whose enlistment was contemplated. The same argument applies in the case of Jats who become Christians or Arya Samajists, and their admission into Jat regiments or, companies would destroy their monageneity and cause trouble and dissension.

The principle appears to me to be sound, and, as long as there is no public proscription of Arya Samajists, but merely insistence on the principle that men enlisted as Rajputs, Mahrattas, Jats, etc., shall be such not merely by race but also in respect of religion, custom and usages. I would allow the Army authorities to take their own course.

His Excellency should, however, see the draft before issue, as the matter has taken a somewhat unexpected turn.

J. L.J[Enkins],—28-6-10.
A. E[Arle],—28-6-10.

Army Department.

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His Excellency the Viceroy has read the draft and approves. It may now be issued under the orders of His Excellancy the Commander-in-Chief.

Robert Scallon,—5-7-10.

Adjutant General in India.

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To General Officers Commanding Divisions and Independent Brigades and all Recruiting Officers, No. 84-E.S., Recruiting—Indian Army/1910, Dated 13th July 1910.

Copies to General Officer Commanding $\frac{\text{Northern Army}}{\text{Southern Army}}$

and General Officer Commanding the

Troops North China. / South China. / Ceylon. / Straits Settlements

These notes may now be printed *urgently* as Home Department are calling for a copy.

G. Bailey,—15-7-10.

Pro. No. 798.

No. 1003-B., $\frac{\text{“Recruiting”}}{\text{Native Army,}}$ dated Simla, the 28th April 1910.

From—The Hon'ble Major-General R.I. Scallon, C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O., Secretary to the Government of India, Army Department,

To— The Chief Secretary to the Government of the

Punjab
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh

I am directed to address you on the question of prohibiting the enlistment of members of the Ayra Samaj in the Indian Army.

2. Although the Samaj professes itself to be a purely religious organization, it is generally understood to consist, to a very large extent, of men whose motives are seditious, and who, in furtherance of their aims, are trying to strengthen their position by proselytising in the Indian Army. So far nothing has been done to counteract their baneful influence in the Army, except that officers commanding regiments have been told that the propagation of the tenets of the society by its members among other soldiers should be carefully watched and if possible discouraged, and that the attendance of men at meetings of the society held outside the lines should be prohibited. These measures, however, have failed to produce the desired effect, and the number of Arya Samajists in the Army is on the increase.

3. Certain members of the society in the Army, who exercised a bad influence, have been got rid of by the commanding officers without the real reason having been assigned; but this line of action is indefensible and must, in the end, make matters worse, as such men either think themselves wrongfully discharged or believe that Government is afraid to give the real reason through fear of the society.

4. From the number of cases which have come to light as to the working of the society in the Army, it is evident that the influence of the Samaj is spreading to an extent which, if not checked at once will, before long, prove a very real danger, and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is of opinion that the only way to check the growth is to prohibit the enlistment of men belonging to the Samaj and to forbied men either to join or remain members of this society.

5. Before, however, sanctioning the adoption of such a drastic measure, the Government of India would be glad to be

favoured with the opinion of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor on the subject.

No. 898-S.B., dated Lahore, the 4th May 1910.
Pro. No. 799.

From—The Hon'ble Mr. E.D. Maclagan, C.I.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

To—The Hon'ble Major-General R.I. Scallon, C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O., Secretary to the Government of India, Army Department.

With reference to your letter No. 1003, dated the 28th April 1910, regarding the proposed prohibition of the enlistment of members of the Arya Samaj in the Indian Army, I am directed to say that the Punjab Government has not received any information from the Army Department as to the extent to which the Arya Samaj is working its way into the Army. The Lieutenant-Governor was not even officially informed of the cause for the dismissal of certain men of the 10th Jats at Calcutta whose return to the Rohtak district, where the Arya Samaj is at present very active, might have done a good deal of mischief. It is not possible, therefore, for Sir Louis Dane to offer any opinion as to the effect which Arya Samaj teaching has had in the Army. From hearsay, however, it seems that some Commanding Officers have vague ideas of what the Arya Samaj is, and Muhammadans have even been supposed to belong to it.

2. The views of the Lieutenant-Governor about the Arya Samaj were recently expressed in a letter to the President of the Samaj, a copy of which is enclosed. It is understood that it had a good effect, especially with the vegetarian section of the community, many of whom have taken oaths of active loyalty. Sir Louis Dane sees no reason to modify the opinion then expressed; and he believes that the Arya Samaj is primarily a religious society, but that, as in the case of the Sikh Khalsa Diwans and Sikh Sabhas, which are as active and dangerous as

the Arya Samaj, its aims and actions may easily in certain centres become political.

3. Unless the Army authorities have very definite proof that the Arya Samaj, as a body, is teaching sedition in the Army, the Lieutenant-Governor would deprecate any direct action against the society as a whole, and would deal with individual cases as they occur, dismissing any Arya who was seditious, as a disgrace not only to the Army but to the society to which he belongs, a society which has publicly reiterated its aversion to any such teaching.

Copy of a letter No. 74-S.B., dated the 12th January 1910, from the Hon'ble Mr. M.W. Fenton, Chief Secretary to the Government, Punjab, to Lala Durga Pershad, President, Arya Samaj, Wachhowali, Lahore.

I am directed by the Lieutenant-Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 21st December in which you ask His Honour to make an announcement as to the attitude of Government towards the Arya Samaj. You desire an assurance that Government does not intend to prosecute the Arya Samaj as a body, but only to proceed against "peace-breakers wherever they may be found," that is to say against sedition.

2. It is explained that apprehension has been caused to the members of your society by the prosecutions which have been launched in the Patiala State against certain members of the Patiala branch of the Arya Samaj and you refer to rumours of similar action being in contemplation in British territory.

3. In reply I am to say that Sir Louis Dane does not disguise from himself the fact that many authorities entertain an opinion adverse to the Arya Samaj; and His Honour recognizes that it is an association capable, if not guided by wisdom, of producing a great deal of mischief, more especially when local branches of the Samaj come under the control of members who may have seditious inclinations. But Sir Louis Dane is not convinced that as a body the Arya Samaj is at present disloyal and seditious, and he believes that many of the members are actuated only by a desire for religious reform.

4. As regards the Patiala prosecutions Sir Louis Dane does not know what evidence is to be produced against the individuals arrested or the society to which they belong as a body. It would, His Honour considers, be impossible and improper for him to say anything about the case which is *sub judice.*

5. Regarding your society as a whole His Honour has little to add to what is said above. The Arya Samaj, as His Honour is aware, contains a number of earnest and devoted men who have done much for the cause of education and also, he believes, for social reform. These men are largely in the service of Government, in which their work has been fully appreciated, and they have received their full share of official advancement. Sir Louis Dane feels sure that the fact that they belong to the Arya Samaj will not be allowed to tell against them, and that any charges that may be brought against them or any other members of the Samaj will not be prejudged merely on account of such membership, unless and until the Samaj is proved and declared to be a seditious body. His Honour is confident that each case will be decided on the merits. Government will always welcome the assistance of the loyal members of Samaj in preventing what purports to be a society for religious and social reform and advancement from being twisted from its proper aims and degenerating into a political organization, devoted to objects which are not consonant with due loyalty to the Government as established.

No. 123-C., dated Naini Tal, the 11th May 1910.

From—The Hon'ble Mr. J.W. Hose, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces.

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Army Department.

I am directed to submit the following reply to your letter No. 1003-B., dated 28th April 1910, on the question of prohibiting the enlistment of members of the Arya Samaj in the Indian Army. The opinions expressed in this reply are those of the Hon'ble Mr. Porter, the present Lieutenant-Governor. It is not known what view Sir J.P. Hewett holds on the question,

and the Government of India may wish to consult him later on his return from leave.

2. The infantry regiments which recruit in these provinces with their recruiting grounds are as follows. The 2nd, 4th and 16th Rajputs recruit in the Meerut, Agra and Rohilkhand divisions. The 7th, 8th and 11th Rajputs recruit in the Lucknow, Fyzabad, Allahabad, Benares and Gorakhpur divisions and Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand. The 1st and 3rd Brahmans recruit in the Fyzabad, Lucknow, Gorakhpur and Benares divisions, and in Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand and the districts of Farrukhabad and Shahjahanpur. It is understood that some recruiting for the cavalry also takes place. This Government, however, has no information as to the number of men recruited annually or as to their conduct after recruitment.

3. The Arya Samaj has obtained a firm hold of the western districts of these provinces, and has branches in practically every district, but, so far, has been less successful in the eastern districts. The working of the society has been carefully watched for some years, and three prominent members have been subjected to orders by a criminal court, one being bound down under Section 109, Criminal Procedure Code, and two convicted under Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code. But the entire Samaj is not disloyal. A large number of members concern themselves solely with the religious and social aims of the society. There are, however, a considerable number of extremists who are actively disloyal, and these men are undoubtedly a source of real danger. They are particularly active, and have brought discredit and suspicion on the society generally. With proper management, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks, the former class can be kept on the side of the Government. It would in his opinion be a fatal mistake to confound the two classes and proscribe the whole Samaj.

4. This Government has already vetoed a proposal to exclude Arya Samajists as a body from the services of the civil Government. The Samaj has come to stay, and it would not be sound policy to alienate the sympathies of that large section of its members which takes no part in political propagandism and is not disloyal. The problem which the military authorities have to face may however be different; and this Government

is not in possession of all the facts. But in the present condition of affairs in these provinces the Lieutenant-Governor is not prepared to recommend that the course proposed in paragraph 4 of your letter should be adopted.

SECRET.

No. 84-E.S., Recruiting—Indian Army/1910.

Army Head Quarters, India.
Adjutant General's Division.
Simla, the 13th July 1910.

From

Major-General M.H.S. Grover, C.B.,

Officiating Adjutant General in India,

To

GENERAL OFFICERS COMMANDING
DIVISION and INDEPENDENT BRIGADES
and all RECRUITING OFFICERS.

Sir,

I am directed to state that in view of the maintenance of discipline, good order and loyalty in the Indian Army and to prevent discord and dissension arising among the Native ranks, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief desires all Commanding Officers and Recruiting Officers to carry out the policy of Government in carefully restricting the enlistments in Units to the classes duly authorised to form their composition.

2. To illustrate this I am to point out that as in a Hindu Rajput company Mahomedan Rajputs are not enlisted and as Brahmans who are Sikhs are not eligible for regiments enlisting Brahmans, so in the case of companies for which Jats are authorised, steps should be taken to prevent the enlistment of Jats who have changed their religion to that of the Sikhs, Vishnois, Brahmo-Samajists, Arya-Samajists, or of any other sect, and this rule should be applied to all classes enlisted in

the Indian Army. This does not affect the rule under which a limited number of unauthorised classes are allowed as school-masters, soldier-clerks, bandsmen, buglers, artificers, etc., but His Excellency directs that these should be of the orthodox religions hitherto accepted in the Army.

3. In order to carry out this policy effectively, His Excellency draws special attention to the necessity of all Recruiting Officers (or in the case of Units enlisting men at head-quarters, of their Commanding Officers) being in close touch with the district Officers of the area from which they enlist their men, as it is mainly from these Civil Authorities the information can be obtained showing localities from which it is undesirable to recruit.

4. I am further to say that cases of unauthorised and undesirable classes already enlisted should be dealt with by Commanding Officers on their individual merits.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
M.H.S. Grover, *Major-General,*
Offg. Adjutant General in India.

Copies forwarded for information to—

The General Officer Commanding North Army / South Army

The General Officer Commanding the Troops North China / South China / Ceylon / Straits Settlements

G. Bailey, *Major.*
for *Offg. Adjutant General in India.*

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